

Re-examining the rationale and meaning of differences between the narrative and the poem of the Red Sea event

Q Day

 orcid.org/0000-0001-7849-0992

Thesis accepted in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree
Doctor of Philosophy in Old Testament at the North-West
University

Promoter: Dr A Coetsee

Co-promoter: Dr K Lavery

Graduation: May 2024

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study is the result of my deep love for the scriptures. YHWH communicates through his word his ongoing love and devotion for his people—people who are often rebellious, confused, and lacking in faith, just like you and me. I thank the many people who have encouraged me throughout this journey.

My children, Alvin and Madison, who have spent many years watching me study and write, never spoke a discouraging word, although my studies undoubtedly impacted the time they could spend with me. I thank you.

Albert Day, who always knew that YHWH had called me to study the scriptures. I thank you.

My late dad reminded me during studies that there were no “shortcuts” in life. I knew then that I would have to stay the course and complete this work. I thank you. My church community, beginning with Bishop Dickerson, who told me to attend seminary and get an MDiv. I thank you.

It was my time as an MDiv student at Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary that led me to the many mentors who would encourage me to pursue doctoral studies. To the late Elder Brown, who unknowingly preached messages that provided helpful insight into my study area of the book of Exodus, I thank you.

To Dr. Hall, who spoke prophetically that “I would finish strong.” I thank you.

There were many days, months, and years when there seemed to be too many challenges to complete this work. To all my advisors and mentors: Alvin Padilla, Bill and Aida Spencer, Carol Kaminiski, Karen D. Lavery, and Albert Coetsee, I thank you. Each advisor and mentor provided substantive critique, encouragement, and valuable information that contributed to completing this work.

Finally, I thank my Lord for choosing me; ultimately, I exist only because of his mercy and to accomplish his purpose.

ABSTRACT

The narrative of Exodus 13:17–14:31 and the poem of Exodus 15:1-18, commonly referred to as the Red Sea event or the Israelites' victory at Sea, describe the Israelites' rescue out of Egypt in different ways. The narrative chronicles the Israelites' journey out of Egypt, their passage through the Sea, YHWH's defeat of the Egyptians in the Sea, the Israelites' belief in Moses as the servant of YHWH, and their faith in YHWH. In contrast, the poem centers on the victory at Sea, the defeat of new enemies, and a future dwelling place with YHWH. Despite these differences, there does not seem to be a concentrated effort in scholarship to uncover why there are two different accounts of one event. This thesis aims to do precisely that by analyzing and investigating the narrative and the poem in Exodus 13:17–14:31 and Exodus 15:1-18, respectively. To reach this aim, Exodus 13:17–14:31 and 15:1-18 are subjected to a comprehensive contextual and intertextual analysis, a comparison of differences in twice-told ancient Near Eastern battles, and a discussion of the differences between the two passages.

Key terms: Exodus 13–15, Red Sea, Red Sea event, Song of Moses, Song of Miriam, contextual method, intertextual analysis.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	II
ABSTRACT	III
LIST OF TABLES.....	XII
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 BACKGROUND AND PROBLEM STATEMENT	1
1.1.1 Background of the research	1
1.1.2 The problem	3
1.2 AIM AND OBJECTIVES.....	4
1.2.1 Aim	4
1.2.2 Objectives.....	4
1.3 CENTRAL THEORETICAL ARGUMENT	4
1.4 METHODOLOGY	5
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW.....	10
2.1 INTRODUCTION.....	10
2.2 DOCUMENTARY HYPOTHESIS.....	11
2.2.1 Outstretched hand.....	12
2.2.2 Description of the water.....	13
2.2.3 Wind	14
2.2.4 Death of the Egyptians	14
2.2.5 Preliminary conclusions.....	15
2.3 HISTORICAL-GRAMMATICAL INVESTIGATIONS	15
2.3.1 Moses' role and the outstretched hand	16
2.3.2 The Egyptians' boast.....	16
2.3.3 Death of the Egyptians	16
2.3.4 Wind	17
2.3.5 The pillar of cloud	18
2.3.6 Preliminary conclusions.....	18
2.4 ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN BATTLES	18
2.5 CREATION ACCOUNTS	20
2.5.1 YHWH's power over enemies	21
2.5.2 YHWH's breath and the east wind	22
2.5.3 Moses' role	22
2.5.4 Sanctuary	23
2.5.5 YHWH dwelling with Israel	23

2.5.6	Preliminary conclusions.....	23
2.6	SMALLER UNCATEGORIZED STUDIES	24
2.7	CONCLUSION	24

**CHAPTER THREE: AN OVERVIEW OF THE DIFFERENCES AND OMISSIONS IN THE
RED SEA EVENT IN EXODUS 13:17–14:31 AND EXODUS 15:1-18..... 25**

3.1	INTRODUCTION.....	25
3.1.1	Overview of the Red Sea event.....	25
3.1.2	Date of the Exodus	27
3.1.3	Date of composition.....	28
3.2	A TABULAR OVERVIEW OF DIFFERENCES AND OMISSIONS	29
3.3	OVERVIEW OF DIFFERENCES AND OMISSIONS	31
3.3.1	In the narrative, Pharaoh lets the Israelites go (Exod 13:17)	31
3.3.2	In the narrative, Philistia, Sukkoth, Etham, Pi-Hahiroth, Migdol, and Baal Zephon (Exod 13:17, 20; 14:2)	32
3.3.3	In the narrative, YHWH leads his people to the sea (Exod 13:17-18), but in the poem, YHWH leads with steadfast love to his holy dwelling/sanctuary/mountain of inheritance (Exod 15:13, 17).....	32
3.3.4	In the narrative, YHWH reveals the Israelites will change their mind and turn from war (Exod 13:17).....	32
3.3.5	The enemies of Israel are the Egyptians and Philistines in the narrative (Exod 13:17), but in the poem, the enemies include the Philistines, Edomites, Moabites, Canaanites, and Pharaoh and his host (Exod 15:4, 14-16).....	32
3.3.6	In the narrative, the Israelites left Egypt equipped/organized for battle (Exod 13:18)	32
3.3.7	In the narrative, Moses retrieves Joseph’s bones (Exod 13:19)	33
3.3.8	In the narrative, Pillar of cloud/angel of God (Exod 13:21-22; 14:19-20).....	33
3.3.9	In the narrative, YHWH speaks to Moses (Exod 14:1-4, 15-18, 26), but he does not speak to anyone in the poem.....	33
3.3.10	In the narrative, Pharaoh believes the Israelites are confused in the wilderness (Exod 14:3)	33
3.3.11	In the narrative, the name Egypt/Egyptian is repeated (Exod 13:17-18; 14:4, 9-10, 12-13, 17-18, 20, 23-27, 30-31)	34
3.3.12	In the narrative, YHWH hardens Pharaoh and the Egyptians’ hearts (Exod 14:4, 8, 17)	34
3.3.13	In the narrative, YHWH desires to gain glory over Pharaoh and the Egyptians (Exod 14:4, 17, 18)	34
3.3.14	In the narrative, Pharaoh is told the Israelites have left Egypt (Exod 14:5)	34
3.3.15	In the narrative, Pharaoh and the Egyptians change their mind about letting the Israelites leave the land (Exod 14:5).....	35

3.3.16	In the narrative, the Israelites were slaves to the Egyptians (Exod 14:5,12), but in the poem, they belong to YHWH (Exod 15:2).....	35
3.3.17	Gathering the military for the pursuit of the Israelites in the narrative (Exod 14:6-7).....	35
3.3.18	In the narrative, the Israelites march out boldly (Exod 14:8).....	35
3.3.19	The Israelites cry out and confess fear of their enemies in the narrative (Exod 14:10-12), but in the poem, the Israelites boast about defeating their future enemies (Exod 15:14-16).....	36
3.3.20	The prediction of the Egyptians' defeat in the narrative (Exod 14:13-14).....	36
3.3.21	Moses stretches forth his hand with the rod in the narrative (Exod 14:16, 21), but YHWH stretches forth his hand in the poem (Exod 15:6).....	36
3.3.22	YHWH sends an east wind to divide the sea in the narrative (Exod 14:21), but in the poem, the breath of YHWH's nostrils moves the sea over the Egyptians (Exod 15:8).....	36
3.3.23	Moses leads the people through the sea in the narrative (Exod 14:22), but he leads the Israelites in singing to YHWH in the poem (Exod 15:1b-18).....	37
3.3.24	The Israelites cross a divided sea in the narrative (Exod 14:22) before the Egyptians die, but in the poem, the Israelites pass over dry land after the account of the Egyptians' death (Exod 15:10, 12, 16).....	37
3.3.25	Walls of water in the narrative (Exod 14:22), but a wall of water in the poem (Exod 15:8).....	37
3.3.26	The Egyptian army panics and retreats in the narrative (Exod 14:24), but in the poem, they sink like lead and die in silence (Exod 15:5, 10, 12).....	37
3.3.27	The Egyptians taunt/boast in the poem (Exod 15:9).....	37
3.3.28	New enemies are fearful in the poem (Exod 15:14-16).....	38
3.3.29	In the narrative, YHWH clogs up the Egyptians' chariot wheels (Exod 14:25).....	38
3.3.30	The time of the Egyptians' death is in the narrative (Exod 14:24, 27, 30).....	38
3.3.31	In the narrative, death occurs by drowning (Exod 14:28), but in the poem the earth swallows the Egyptians (Exod 15:12).....	38
3.3.32	The Egyptians lie dead along the seashore in the narrative (Exod 14:30).....	38
3.3.33	The Israelites believe in Moses as YHWH's representative in the narrative (Exod 14:31).....	39
3.3.34	The Israelites fear YHWH in the narrative (Exod 14:31), but in the poem, the Israelites praise YHWH (Exod 15:1b-18).....	39
3.3.35	Mountain of inheritance and sanctuary in the poem (Exod 15:17).....	39
3.3.36	YHWH's reign is eternal in the poem (Exod 15:18).....	39
3.4	CONCLUSION.....	39

CHAPTER FOUR: MEANING OF DIFFERENCES IN EXODUS 13:17–14:31—THE NARRATIVE ACCOUNT OF THE RED SEA EVENT: A CONTEXTUAL METHOD⁴⁰

4.1	INTRODUCTION.....	40
-----	-------------------	----

4.2	A CONTEXTUAL ANALYSIS OF DIFFERENCES	41
4.2.1	Stage one: Exodus from Egypt.....	41
4.2.1.1	Pharaoh lets the Israelites go (#1).....	41
4.2.1.2	Philistia (a place to avoid), Sukkoth, Etham, Pi-Hahiroth, Migdol, and Baal Zephon (#2)	43
4.2.1.3	YHWH reveals the Israelites will change their mind and turn from war (#4) ...	44
4.2.1.4	The Israelites left Egypt equipped/organized for battle (#6).....	45
4.2.1.5	Moses retrieves Joseph’s bones (#7).....	46
4.2.1.6	Pillar of cloud/angel of God (#8)	47
4.2.2	Stage two: Egyptian preparation for the pursuit	48
4.2.2.1	YHWH hardens Pharaoh and the Egyptians’ hearts (#12).....	48
4.2.2.2	YHWH desires to gain glory over Pharaoh and the Egyptians (#13)	50
4.2.2.3	Pharaoh is told the Israelites have left Egypt (#14)	51
4.2.2.4	Gathering the military for the pursuit of the Israelites (#17)	52
4.2.3	Stage three: The Israelites’ recognition of the Egyptian pursuit.....	53
4.2.3.1	The Israelites cry out to YHWH and Moses and confess fear of their enemies (#19)	53
4.2.4	Stage four: The opening of the Sea	54
4.2.4.1	YHWH speaks to Moses (#9)	54
4.2.4.2	Moses stretches forth his hand with the rod (#21)	55
4.2.4.3	YHWH sends an east wind to divide the sea (#22)	56
4.2.5	Stage five: Crossing the Sea	57
4.2.5.1	Moses leads the people through the sea (#23)	57
4.2.6	Stage six: Death of the Egyptians	58
4.2.6.1	YHWH clogs up the Egyptians’ chariot wheels (#29).....	58
4.2.6.2	Time of the Egyptians’ death (#30).....	59
4.2.7	Stage seven: The punishment of enemies.....	60
4.2.7.1	The name Egypt/Egyptian (#11).....	60
4.2.7.2	The Israelites believe in Moses as YHWH’s representative and fear YHWH (#33, 34)	61
4.2.8	Stage eight: Fellowship with YHWH.....	61
4.3	CONCLUSION	61

CHAPTER FIVE: MEANING OF DIFFERENCES IN EXODUS 15:1-18—THE POETIC

	ACCOUNT OF THE RED SEA EVENT: A CONTEXTUAL METHOD	63
5.1	INTRODUCTION.....	63
5.2	A CONTEXTUAL ANALYSIS OF DIFFERENCES	64
5.2.1	Stage one: Exodus from Egypt.....	64
5.2.2	Stage two: The Egyptians’ preparation for the pursuit of the Israelites.....	64
5.2.2.1	The Egyptians taunt/boast of killing the Israelites (#26).....	64

5.2.3	Stage three: The Israelites' recognition of the Egyptian pursuit.....	66
5.2.3.1	The Israelites boast of defeating their future enemies (#19).....	66
5.2.4	Stage four: The opening of the Sea	67
5.2.4.1	YHWH stretches forth his hand/arm (#21)	67
5.2.4.2	The breath of YHWH's nostrils moves the sea back (#22).....	68
5.2.5	Stage five: The crossing of the Sea	69
5.2.5.1	Walls of water (#25).....	69
5.2.5.2	Moses leads the Israelites in singing to YHWH and the Israelites praise YHWH (#23, #34)	70
5.2.5.3	The Israelites pass over dry land after the account of the Egyptians' death (#24)	72
5.2.6	Stage six: The death of the Egyptians.....	73
5.2.6.1	The Egyptians sink like lead and die in silence (#26).....	73
5.2.6.2	The earth swallows the Egyptians (#31)	74
5.2.7	Stage seven: The punishment of enemies	75
5.2.7.1	The enemies of Israel are the Philistines, Edomites, Moabites, and the Canaanites (#5)	75
5.2.7.2	New enemies are fearful, Philistia, Edomites, Moabites, Canaanites (#28) ...	76
5.2.8	Stage eight: Fellowship with YHWH.....	77
5.2.8.1	YHWH leads with steadfast love to his holy dwelling, the mountain of inheritance, and sanctuary (#'s 3 & 35).....	77
5.2.8.2	The Israelites belong to YHWH (#16).....	78
5.3	CONCLUSION	79

CHAPTER SIX: RATIONALE FOR DIFFERENCES BETWEEN EXODUS 13:17–14:31

	AND 15:1-18—A CONTEXTUAL METHOD.....	81
6.1	INTRODUCTION.....	81
6.2	POINTS OF EMPHASIS	82
6.2.1	Group one: Israelites as slaves	82
6.2.2	Group two: Location of deliverance.....	83
6.2.3	Group three: Moses as YHWH's servant leader	84
6.2.4	Group four: Israelites' response to the Exodus	85
6.2.5	Group five: Intermediaries to guide the Israelites.....	86
6.2.6	Group six: YHWH's silence	87
6.2.7	Group seven: YHWH is all-knowing	87
6.2.8	Group eight: Egyptians honor YHWH.....	88
6.2.9	Group nine: YHWH has all power	89
6.2.10	Group ten: Order of events.....	89
6.2.11	Summary	90
6.3	THEOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS FOR THE ISRAELITES	90

6.3.1	Theological theme one: Remember you were slaves	90
6.3.2	Theological theme two: Moses is YHWH's servant.....	93
6.3.3	Theological theme three: YHWH alone is God	94
6.3.4	Theological theme four: Israel needed a Savior.....	95
6.4	CONCLUSION	96

**CHAPTER SEVEN: DIFFERENCES IN ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN PARALLEL PROSE
AND POETIC BATTLE ACCOUNTS 97**

7.1	INTRODUCTION.....	97
7.2	ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN BATTLE ACCOUNTS	97
7.2.1	The Tukulti-Ninurta Epic and his Royal Building Inscriptions.....	97
7.2.2	Tiglath-Pileser I's Royal Annals and LKA 63.....	99
7.2.3	The Annals of Thutmose III and the Gebel Barkal and Armant Stelae	101
7.2.4	The Kadesh Battle Inscriptions of Ramesses II: Poem and Bulletin	102
7.2.5	Summary	104
7.3	MOST COMMON DIFFERENCES BY GROUP	104
7.3.1	Role of the king.....	106
7.3.1.1	The use of taunts to demoralize the enemy	106
7.3.1.2	The king's show of fear or courage	106
7.3.1.3	The king's allegiance to another king and his god/gods	108
7.3.1.4	The king's expectation of his god/gods	110
7.3.1.5	The king's capture of victory spoils.....	110
7.3.1.6	Unique/Uncategorized	111
7.3.1.7	Summary	112
7.3.2	Military	112
7.3.2.1	Honor and obedience to the king.....	112
7.3.2.2	Strategies for battle	113
7.3.3	Enemy's defeat.....	114
7.3.3.1	Tribute and honor	114
7.3.3.2	Retreat or submission.....	114
7.3.4	Function of the gods.....	115
7.3.4.1	Increased punishment	115
7.3.4.2	Divine strength and prosperity from the gods.....	116
7.3.5	Order of Events	118
7.3.5.1	Enemies' preparation or rebellion.....	118
7.3.5.2	The king's commission	119
7.3.5.3	Celebration of the gods	119
7.4	EXCURSUS: THE RED SEA EVENT IN LIGHT OF ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN BATTLE ACCOUNTS	119
7.5	CONCLUSION	121

CHAPTER EIGHT: THE RED SEA EVENT IN OTHER BOOKS OF THE OLD

	TESTAMENT—AN INTERTEXTUAL ANALYSIS	122
8.1	INTRODUCTION.....	122
8.2	THE PENTATEUCH.....	123
8.2.1	Numbers 33	123
8.2.1.1	Moses' and Aaron's leadership of the Israelites	124
8.2.1.2	Passover.....	124
8.2.1.3	The Israelites' confidence.....	125
8.2.1.4	The Egyptians' defeat.....	125
8.2.2	Deuteronomy 11	125
8.3	JOSHUA 2, 4 AND 24.....	126
8.3.1	Joshua 2.....	126
8.3.1.1	The land belongs to the Israelites.....	127
8.3.1.2	The people fear YHWH	127
8.3.1.3	YHWH is greater than all other gods	127
8.3.2	Joshua 4.....	128
8.3.3	Joshua 24.....	129
8.3.3.1	YHWH's rescue of his people.....	130
8.3.3.2	Israelites' witness.....	130
8.4	PSALMS.....	130
8.4.1	Psalms 78.....	130
8.4.1.1	YHWH delivers the Israelites.....	131
8.4.1.2	YHWH leads his people to the border of their inheritance	131
8.4.2	Psalms 106.....	131
8.4.2.1	YHWH saves Israel.....	132
8.4.2.2	The Israelites acknowledge YHWH	132
8.4.3	Psalms 136.....	133
8.4.3.1	YHWH'S guidance of his people	133
8.4.3.2	Pharaoh's defeat.....	133
8.4.3.3	YHWH's guidance and defeat of Israel's enemies are signs of his love for his people.....	133
8.5	ISAIAH 63	134
8.5.1	Moses led the Israelites.....	134
8.5.2	YHWH delivered Israel	135
8.5.3	YHWH gave the Israelites rest	135
8.6	NEHEMIAH 9	135
8.6.1	YHWH is Israel's protector	136
8.6.2	YHWH makes a name for himself	136
8.7	ADDITIONAL OBSERVATIONS OF THE RED SEA EVENT IN THE OLD TESTAMENT ...	137
8.8	CONCLUSION	138

CHAPTER NINE: CONCLUSION	139
9.1 INTRODUCTION.....	139
9.2 SUMMARY OF CHAPTERS	139
9.3 SUMMATIVE FINDINGS.....	143
9.4 CONCLUSION	144
9.5 SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE STUDIES.....	144
APPENDIX	146
10.1 EXODUS 13:17–15:18: TRANSLATION AND NOTES	146
BIBLIOGRAPHY	165

LIST OF TABLES

Table 3-1: Differences and omissions between Exod 13:17—14:1 and 15:1-18 30

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND AND PROBLEM STATEMENT

1.1.1 Background of the research

My interest in this topic originates from reading interpretations of the Israelites' deliverance at Sea. To my surprise, very few address the reasons for two accounts of YHWH's rescue. Instead, scholars emphasize the literary relationship of the passages in various ways. For example, instead of exploring why the pillar of cloud and the angel of God are in the narrative and not in the poem, scholars study why the pillar of cloud and the angel of God repeat the same action (go behind the Israelites) in the narrative (Childs, 1974:244; Davies, 2020:195). In another scenario, scholars debate whether the verb tenses in Exodus 15:14-16 describe the fate of Israel's future enemies or if it refers to a past completed event, as opposed to investigating why the poem mentions five enemies and the narrative records one (Alexander, 2017:288; Hamilton, 2011:235). In a recent study, Wénin addresses only a select group of similarities and differences in order to show how events in the narrative are emphasized in the poem (Wénin, 2014:331).

YHWH's rescue of Israel through the Sea is the seminal moment in Israelite history. It represents YHWH's partial fulfillment of the Abrahamic covenant, in which YHWH promises to deliver Abraham's descendants out of slavery and punish their enemies (Gen 15:13-14). YHWH commands the Israelites never to forget this miracle. As a result, the Israelites recall this event during yearly festivals; they teach it to their children and deal justly with strangers because of their former state as sojourners. Therefore, the presentation of this historic occasion two times with varied content requires careful attention.

A cursory reading of the Red Sea event in Exodus 13:17–14:31 and 15:1-18 shows differences between each account. In the narrative, YHWH speaks to Moses (Exod 14:1, 15, 26), but YHWH does not speak in the poem. In the narrative, Moses leads the Israelites through the Sea (Exod 14:21-22); in the poem, there is no record of Moses leading the Israelites through the waters. In the narrative, the Israelites fear death by the Egyptians (Exod 14:10); in the poem, they express no fear of the Egyptians and boast of YHWH's defeat of their enemies (Exod 15:1b-12, 14-16). In the narrative, the Egyptians recognize YHWH as the one who fights for Israel (Exod 14:25); in contrast, the poem presents no account of the Egyptians acknowledging YHWH (Exod 15:4-6, 9-10). While there are other differences between the narrative and the poem, these few indicate that each genre communicates the event differently.

The general differences between the genres of narrative and poetry are well known. The narrative is a common way of retelling history or describing a situation (Klein et al., 2017:421-422). Narratives can include speeches and reports to convey the details of an event. Narratives typically use a chronological order to communicate the story. Conversely, poetry employs terse language, parallelism, hyperbole, metaphors, and imagery in verse. Poetry may or may not follow a chronological order. Also, poetry intentionally describes the participants' emotional experiences (Klein et al., 2017:363; Alter, 2011b:93). Consequently, differences in narrative and poetry are one possible (albeit general) explanation for the differences between the description of Israel's deliverance in Exodus 13:17–14:31 and 15:1-18. However, taking all of these general explanations into account, there seem to be two presentations of the Red Sea event in Exodus 13:17–14:31 and 15:1-18. The reason for these different presentations is what the current thesis would like to investigate.

One possible explanation of the differences relies on the Documentary Hypothesis, namely that multiple authors or sources composed different versions of the Red Sea event (Johnstone, 2014:276; Baden, 2012:193-213; Dozeman, 2009:39-48; Enns, 2000:304; Ashby, 1998:69; Houtman, 1996:247; Durham, 1987:208-209; Vervenne, 1987:270; Noth, 1962:109-113; Driver, 1911:25). Scholars who adhere to the Documentary Hypothesis argue the Red Sea event in the narrative and poem does not only tell of the Israelites' journey through the Sea and their immediate reaction to the victory. Instead, the narrative and poem reference events after the passage through the Sea, including their journey in the wilderness, the crossing of the Jordan, and conquest over other enemies (Durham, 1987:203; Ska 1983:458; Childs, 1974:223). Still others compare the Red Sea event to the creation account in Genesis 1-2 and the Canaanite Baal Cycles (Russell, 2017:107-118; Kloos, 1997:86-87; Cross, 1968:1-25; Eakin, 1967:374-384). Many scholars rightly argue that the Israelites' deliverance out of Egypt is akin to a nation's rebirth. Yet scholars who employ this process only focus on the parallels between Exodus 15:1-18 and the Canaanite Baal Cycles. Then, scholars such as Eichrodt (1967:163) and Von Rad (1962:175-178) examined the theology of the Old Testament. Although they acknowledge that sources contribute to the formation of the text, their work emphasizes the theological themes, rather than the differences between the Red Sea event in the narrative and poem. While the Documentary Hypothesis does provide reflections on matters such as changes in chronology and structure, repetition of events, what some scholars suggest are conflicts in the OT, and the influence of external sources, it does not adequately provide answers for the reasons for differences and the implications thereof (as will be indicated in a detailed literature study in chapter two).

Other scholars explore the victory at Sea in Exodus 13:17–14:31 and 15:1-18 as the same historical account of ancient Israel by using a hermeneutic approach which mirrors the grammatical-historical method (Blackburn, 2012:53-56; Hamilton, 2011:231-232; Kaiser, 2008:438-451; Stuart, 2006:312; Ryken, 2005:315-316; Currid, 2000:309). If scholars identify differences, they argue the reasons are to emphasize a theme or that the narrative and the poem use language in different ways to tell an event (Blackburn, 2012:53; Stuart, 2006:312). The problem with this approach is that scholars too readily attribute differences to genre rather than explore the possibility of other reasons for differences.

A final group of scholars attribute differences to literary dependence on ancient Near Eastern battle accounts. Berman (2017:35) contends that the similarities and the differences between Exodus 14:1-31 and 15:1-21 mirror the similarities and differences in the Egyptian Kadesh Battle Inscriptions. Thus, he concludes, the Red Sea event “deliberately appropriates Egyptian royal propaganda.” Patterson (2004:43-44) argues similarly but includes the Merneptah Inscriptions and the King Piye Inscriptions in his analysis of the Red Sea event. The challenge for using this approach to evaluate the meaning of differences is that there may not always be a direct parallel for the biblical difference found in other ancient Near Eastern battle accounts. Therefore, while this process helps evaluate differences, there are some limitations when using this as the only method to determine the meanings for differences in a biblical account.

1.1.2 The problem

This thesis addresses why Exodus 13:17–14:31 and 15:1-18 describe the Red Sea event in different ways. The differences between the narrative and the poem are not new to scholars (Patterson, 2004:49; Propp, 1999:526; Cross and Freedman, 1955:238). In addition, the presence of parallel narrative and poetic accounts of a single battle is not commonplace in the OT. The closest parallel to the narrative and the poem in Exodus 13:17–14:31 and 15:1-18 is Judges 4–5, but the Israelites fight against their enemy in the Judges account. The minimal scholarly attention concerning the reasons for differences and the rare presentation of a single battle in narrative and poem indicates the necessity for this thesis topic.

This thesis will address the following questions: One, how have scholars interpreted the meaning of differences of the Red Sea event? What are the differences that have not been explored? A literature review of scholarship on the Red Sea event will provide evidence of the gap in research. Two, what are the differences and the meaning of the differences in the narrative? Three, what are the differences and the meaning of the differences in the poem? Are the differences concentrated in certain areas, such as the division of the Sea or the defeat of the Egyptians? Four, what are the reasons for the differences? Does the literary

arrangement (i.e., repetition) emphasize a theme or event in the narrative or the poem? Five, is there evidence from other ancient Near Eastern battle accounts that can aid in understanding the reasons for the differences between Exodus 13:17–14:31 and 15:1-18? Six, how is the Red Sea event recalled in other sections of the Old Testament? What are the theological implications for the study of the differences in the narrative and the poem? Seven, what are the implications of the findings of this investigation for understanding differences between the Red Sea event in the narrative and the poem.

1.2 AIM AND OBJECTIVES

1.2.1 Aim

This study aims to discover the purposes for differences in the writing of Exodus 13:17–14:31 and Exodus 15:1-18 using a contextual and intertextual analysis of the text.

1.2.2 Objectives

The objectives of this study are:

1. To analyze existing interpretations of the Israelites' victory at Sea in Exodus through a detailed literature study.
2. To outline, categorize, and discuss the different words, themes, and events in the narrative and the poem.
3. To determine the meaning of different words, themes, and events in the narrative.
4. To determine the meaning of different words, themes, and events in the poem.
5. To investigate whether the literary style of the narrative and the poem, such as the use of repetition, indicate reasons for the differences.
6. To review whether the reasons for differences in other ancient Near Eastern battle accounts provide rationales for differences in Exodus 13:17-14:31 and 15:1-18.
7. To investigate the theological implications of the Red Sea event in the narrative and the poem by examining how the Red Sea event is recalled in other OT texts.
8. To provide suggestions for understanding differences between the Red Sea event in the narrative and the poem in the OT.

1.3 CENTRAL THEORETICAL ARGUMENT

The central theoretical argument is that the narrative and the poem of Exodus 13:17–14:31 and 15:1-18 describe the Israelites' victory at Sea differently for different purposes. In other words, they are intentionally different because they emphasize different parts of the Israelites' deliverance from the Egyptians. For example, the narrative tells how YHWH delivers the

Israelites out of Egypt and the Egyptians' destruction in the Sea. The poem does not record the Israelites' coming out of Egypt, but the Israelites' celebration of YHWH for his victory over the Egyptians, and other enemies—the Philistines, Edomites, Moabites, and Canaanites. A comparison of the different ways the Red Sea event is told between the narrative and the poem provides evidence of the distinct purposes for each account. This thesis contributes to studies of the Israelites' deliverance from Egypt by providing the reasons and theological significance for the differences.

1.4 METHODOLOGY

This study uses a contextual method to evaluate the differences between Exodus 13:17–14:31 and 15:1-18. According to Hallo, the contextual method examines the meaning of a text in light of its ancient Near Eastern historical, geographical, and cultural setting (Hallo, 1980:1-26; 1991:23-34). Hallo proposes that since the Bible is a product of an ancient Near Eastern setting, any evaluation of the meaning of words or themes must consider what those words or themes meant in an ancient Near Eastern context (Hallo, 1991:23). Hallo's application of the contextual method includes the following steps: one, identification of a biblical theme; two, research on how a theme is portrayed in the parallel ancient Near Eastern inscriptions; three, comparing and contrasting the biblical theme with the evidence from the ancient Near Eastern setting; four, presenting other possible meanings of the biblical theme.

Hallo (1991:23-24) states that he first applied the contextual approach to his essay "New Moons and Sabbaths." He notes,

My thesis in brief is this: the cultic calendar of ancient Mesopotamia, like its civic calendar, was primarily tied to the phases of the moon and not at all to the week (or a week); in Israel, the cultic calendar was only minimally connected to lunar phases, whereas the sabbatical cycle was all-important. (Hallo, 1977:3).

In his analysis, Hallo investigated whether there was evidence of "lunar festivals" in ancient Mesopotamia and what events occurred during those lunar festivals. In addition, he examined whether the Israelites also held festivals connected to lunar cycles. By comparing and contrasting the events at lunar cycles in ancient Mesopotamia and ancient Israel, he determined that Israelite festivals were aligned with weekly sabbaths or the accumulation of weekly sabbaths such as Jubilee. (Hallo, 1977:16-17). In addition, he argued that the ancient Israel Sabbath was connected to acts of creation, justice, and worship of YHWH. (Hallo, 1977:10-16).

We may sum up the contrast as follows: the ancient Mesopotamian year was based on the month, and the worship of the moon went hand and hand with it. The Israelite year was based on the week, and remained independent of the month even when the luni-solar calendar was adopted from Babylonian. The Mesopotamian Jubilee was based on royal succession and royal whim; the Israelite Jubilee was (at least ideally) ordained by God in inviolate successions of sabbatical cycles. (Hallo, 1977:17)

For Hallo, the contextual method is not just about how the two events are similar but also how they differ and what those differences can tell the reader about the biblical context.

Other scholars, such as Hoffmeier and Younger, have noted the value of Hallo's contribution. Hoffmeier (2003:xxii), in his essay "Understanding Hebrew and Egyptian Military Texts," states, "I share William W. Hallo's commitment to the contextual approach or comparative method that he has so compellingly advocated over the past several decades, as well as his essay in *COS* (1:xxiii-xxviii)." Hoffmeier used a contextual approach to examine whether "the Egyptian monumental inscriptions, particularly royal ones, can shed light on the Hebrew scriptures, both on the literary and structural levels." Younger (2003a:xxxvii), who presents an analysis of the comparative approach comments on Hallo's contribution, "In this light, the importance of William W. Hallo's work in proposing a balanced approach—a 'contextual method'—that seeks to observe both comparisons as well as contrasts in the literature of the ancient Near East and the Hebrew Bible is paramount." Younger (Younger, Hallo & Batto, 1991:116), in his essay "Heads!, Tails!, or the Whole Coin?! Contextual Method and Intertextual Analysis: Judges 4 and 5," used a contextual method to examine the meaning of differences between parallel ancient Near Eastern battle accounts. A possible shortcoming of Hallo's contextual method is his recognition that not every Biblical theme has an ancient Near Eastern parallel, so while the goal is to determine the meaning of a Biblical theme or event there may be some differences that remain unexplained. In light of this shortcoming, Hallo's approach does seem to provide a fresh approach to address a problem that has yet to be resolved by Biblical scholars.

After applying a contextual method to Exodus 13:17–14:31 and 15:1-18, this thesis uses an intertextual analysis to determine the theological implications of the Red Sea event in the OT. Recently, many biblical scholars have begun to use intertextuality as a way to understand a writer's use of texts within other texts (Miller, 2011:303; Robbins, 1996:8; Fewell, 1992:19). Julia Kristeva gained notoriety as "the first to coin the term intertextuality" based on her 1969

work *Séméiôtiké: recherches pour une sémanalyse*, translated into English in 1980 as *Desire in language: a semiotic approach to literature and art* (Beal, 1992:29). Kristeva argues that the meaning of a word does not hinge upon an author's intent; instead, "the word in the text belongs to the writing subject and addressee" as well as the "synchronic literary corpus" (Kristeva, 1986:36-37). In other words, there is no singular fixed meaning for a word. However, Carr (2012: 522-523) questions whether author-centered scholars should use this method since intertextuality, at least in the form argued by Kristeva, does not limit the assessment of a text to another writer's account of a text. Sweeney (2017:419) tries to bridge these two approaches by proposing that author-centered researchers can use intertextual analysis to evaluate the meanings of a text.

Another note concerning intertextuality is that there are multiple ways that it is applied by scholars (Beal, 1992:27). For example, Moyise (2002:419) has identified five different approaches to intertextual analysis.

1. "Intertextual echo," in which a scholar examines the use of echoes in a text to recall an event known to the writer's audience.
2. "Narrative intertextuality" is similar to "intertextual echo" but includes an investigation of allusions and quotations.
3. "Exegetical intertextuality," in which a scholar explores the writer's use of exegesis to communicate other meanings of the text.
4. "Dialogical intertextuality," in which a scholar examines how allusions and echoes of words provide meaning to multiple texts.
5. "Postmodern intertextuality," in which a scholar considers allusions in a text based on their knowledge and interactions with other texts.

The diverse theories on the use of intertextual analysis provide evidence that the application of this method does not always adhere to Kristeva's intertextual method. This study does not dismiss the author's intent and examines how allusions or echoes contribute meaning to the text. The thesis follows the dialogical approach modeled by L. Daniel Hawk in *Reading Between the Texts* (Hawk, 1992:89-96). Hawk investigates allusions and echoes of hospitality in Genesis 19:1-29 and Joshua 2:1-24 in his essay *Strange Houseguests: Rahab, Lot and the dynamics of deliverance*. His study includes the following: one, a list of shared language and events in Genesis 19:1-29 and Joshua 2:1-24. Two, a comparison of the participants' responses to shared events. Three, a summary of the meanings and implications of hospitality for both texts.

The thesis addresses the research questions in the following ways: First, “What are the arguments concerning differences between Exodus 13:17–14:31 and 15:1-18?” This is answered by surveying the literature in commentaries, books, and articles which focus on the Israelite deliverance through the Sea in the book of Exodus. The literature review follows the process of surveying, evaluating, and critiquing literature as outlined by Machi and McEvoy in *The literature review: six steps to success* (Machi & McEvoy, 2022).

The second research question, “What are the differences between the narrative and the poem?”, is answered by comparing and contrasting the narrative and the poem in order to outline differences. Then the differences are categorized (i.e., crossing of the Sea or the role of Moses) for further investigation. This section references Hebrew grammar texts, commentaries, books, and essays on themes related to the Red Sea event in Exodus.

The third research question, “What are the meanings for the differences in the narrative?”, is answered by employing a contextual method to investigate the meaning of differences within ancient Near Eastern historical and cultural settings. This chapter uses handbooks, texts, commentaries, and essays referencing ancient Near Eastern culture, history, and war.

The fourth research question, “What are the meanings for the differences in the poem?”, is answered using the same method and resources in the third question.

The fifth research question is, “What are the reasons for the differences between the narrative and poem?” This study uses a contextual analysis of the text to investigate whether the literary styles of the narrative and the poem, such as the use of repetition, for example, indicate reasons for the differences. This section uses the resources referenced in research question three.

The sixth research question is, “Do other presentations of ancient Near Eastern battle accounts shed light on the reasons for differences in the Red Sea event?” This chapter surveys scholarship about select ancient Near Eastern battle accounts and outlines scholars’ explanations for the reasons for differences. The ancient Near Eastern battle accounts referenced in this chapter are as follows: 1. The Tukulti-Ninurta Epic (poem) and his Royal Building Inscriptions (prose); 2. Tiglath-Pileser I’s Royal Annals (prose) and LKA 63 (Literarische Keilschrifttexte aus Aššur [Assyrian Cuneiform Texts]) (poem); 3. The Annals of Thutmose III (prose) and the Gebel Barkal and Armant Stelae (poems); and 4. Kadesh Battle Inscriptions of Ramesses II: Poem and Bulletin. These accounts were selected because they present both narrative and poetic accounts of a common battle, and scholars generally recognize how one or more of these accounts address themes similar to the content presented

in Old Testament battle accounts such as Judges 4 and Judges 5 and Exodus 13:17–14:31 and Exodus 15:1-18 (Berman, 2017:35; Grisanti, 2004:169; Patterson, 2004:43; Younger, Hallo & Batto, 1991:135)

The seventh question is, “What are the theological meanings of the Red Sea event in the narrative and the poem?” This chapter uses an intertextual analysis to investigate other references to the Red Sea event in the OT using references cited in question three.

The eighth question is, “What are the implications of this study for understanding the differences between the Red Sea event in narrative and poem?” The results of this study provide the answer to this question.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Exodus 13:17–14:31 and Exodus 15:1-18 present two different accounts of the Red Sea event. Most scholarship on the topic of the Red Sea event, namely studies related to the Documentary Hypothesis, historical-grammatical investigations, and comparisons to ancient Near Eastern battle and creation accounts, do not adequately address the reasons for the differences. The lack of attention to the reasons for the differences leaves unanswered questions such as: Why is there no record of the Israelites' years of slavery to the Egyptians in the poem? Why does the poetic account of the Egyptians death occur before the Israelites pass through the land and not after as in the narrative? Why is there no account of the Israelites' fear or the Egyptians' confession of YHWH in the poem? Examining the meaning of differences can provide information needed to answer these sorts of questions. To begin, this thesis addresses the first objective: To analyze existing interpretations of the Israelites' victory at Sea in Exodus through a detailed literature study and the first research question: "What are the arguments concerning differences between Exodus 13:17–14:31 and 15:1-18?" The steps used for the literature review are from Machi and McEvoy's (2022:x-xi) *Literature review: six steps to success*. The six steps are: 1. select and define a topic; 2. develop the tools of augmentation; 3. search the literature; 4. survey the literature; 5. critique the literature; and 6. write the review. The steps that are pertinent to this chapter are numbers 4 and 5. Machi and McEvoy discuss three stages of the fourth step, surveying the literature: 1. assemble the collected data. 2. organize the information; and 3. analyze the patterns of data. The data assembled for this literature review come from commentaries, essays, books, and theses which address the Israelites' deliverance through the Red Sea in the book of Exodus. The data are presented according to each major area of scholarship and there is a presentation of differences and the reasons, if noted by the scholar, for those differences. For the fifth step, the literature critique, Machi and McEvoy (2022:129-131) present seven concepts: 1. making the case for the literature review; 2. descriptive argument patterns: factual reasoning; 3. implicative argument patterns: implicative reasoning; 4. the implicative argument: nine basic patterns; 5. backing; 6. fallacies; and 7. the case is everything. The overall goal of the Machi and McEvoy's "Critique of the literature" chapter is to show the importance of linking the literature survey findings to the purpose of the research study. Therefore, this chapter includes preliminary conclusions at the end of each major area of the scholarship section, which summarizes the findings and points to the necessity of this thesis. The conclusion of this literature review will provide further evidence of the gap in research concerning this area of study.

2.2 DOCUMENTARY HYPOTHESIS

Before listing the differences, a few words on the state of the Documentary Hypothesis and the Exodus account of the Red Sea event are in order. Scholars who use Documentary Hypotheses in their investigation of the Red Sea event maintain that repetitions and contradictions are evidence of sources. The sources show that the text is not one account by one author of an event, but the text includes multiple records of events or acts by various authors. For example, Cassuto (1961:43) argues,

We find in one passage, for instance, *so-and-so* הוֹלִיד *hōlidh* (*Hiph'il* 'begot') *so-and-so*, and in another, *so-and-so* יָלַד *yāladh* (*Qal* 'begot') *so-and-so*. Why this divergency? The answer given by the proponents of the documentary hypothesis is as follows: If we find in some places *hōlidh* and in others *yāladh*, this indicates that we have before us fragments taken from various documents, which differ in the use of this verb; one source employs it in the *Hiph'il* and the other in the *Qal*, even in *Hiph'il* senses. This conclusion, they add, helps us again in two other directions: (a) it provides us with evidence of the correctness of our hypothesis concerning the existence of various sources; (b) it opens the way for us to determine the provenance of those passages that would otherwise have remained in doubt.

The sources typically cited by those who use Documentary Hypothesis are JEDP, which gained acceptance with the work of Julius Wellhausen. As noted by many scholars, Wellhausen's theory was influenced by the work of Graff and De Wette, who recognized sources in the composition of the Pentateuch (Alexander, 2002:14; Barton, 1992:162). Part of Wellhausen's work was to determine the categories, order, and dating of sources. For example, Wellhausen noted that J, the earliest source, references the deity as YHWH; E preferred the name Elohim for the deity, D, includes the Mosaic law as recorded in Deuteronomy, and a record of blessings for obedience and curses for disobedience. Baden (2012:129) notes, "Uniquely among the Pentateuchal sources, the D document is found in the canonical text in almost a single uninterrupted block, contained entirely within the book of Deuteronomy. For this reason, D is generally not subject to the same source-critical analyses as the other three Pentateuchal documents." P, the latest source, emphasizes the significance of the priesthood and genealogies.

However, there is not a consensus on Wellhausen's Documentary Hypothesis. Scholars continue to disagree on which verses in the Pentateuch represent the work of which source,

the order of sources, and the proper nomenclature for the sources (Baden, 2012:45; Van Seters, 2003:947-956; Fisher, 1995:203-211; Ska, 1983:137; Childs, 1974:219-220). For example, Dozeman (2009:36-41) identifies the sources as Non-P and P-History. Johnstone (2014:3) prefers two sources, D-version and P-edition, with P-edition preceding D-version, and argues they were composed during the Israelite exile. In addition, there are scholars who do not identify the specific sections of the text that are the work of a particular source. Meyers states that P occurs most often in Exodus. However, in her commentary she does not state which verses are P or another source. In another case, Dozeman speaks broadly that certain themes are the work of Non-P or P-History but in his analysis, he does not provide a verse-by-verse account of which one is Non-P or P-History. Thus, while the scholars tell the reader that there are differences, it is not always possible to know which verses they have designated as different.

Concerning the Red Sea event in particular, scholars note at least one of the following areas as an example of a difference between the narrative and poem: 1. the outstretched hand; 2. the description of the water; 3. wind; and 4. the death of the Egyptians. Each one is addressed in turn.

2.2.1 Outstretched hand

The narrative presents Moses stretching his hand over the Sea (Exod 14:16), but in the poem YHWH's hand is stretched out against his enemies who are swallowed by the earth (Exod 15:12). Multiple scholars do not reference the two readings of the outstretched hand as a difference between the narrative and poem (Johnstone, 2014:289; Dozeman, 2009:317; Noth, 1962:114). However, Propp and Meyers do offer some analysis of the difference. Propp argues that the function of the outstretched hand differs to show the miracle in the narrative:

According to the Song of the Sea, YHWH extends his arm at Sea (15:12). The implication for 14:16 is that Moses' arm channels the power of, or even becomes, God's arm. Although YHWH works a miracle, [Exod] 14:16, taken alone, suggests that Moses has the power to split the sea. (Propp, 1999:497)

Therefore, for Propp, the phrase "outstretched arm" honors YHWH because it reminds the people who brought them through the Sea. In the analysis of source assignments, Propp assigns נָטִית יְמִינְךָ "stretched forth your arm" in Exodus 15:12 to E and all of Exodus 14:16 to P. However, he does note for Exodus 14:16 the occurrence of "Moses's rod is ordinarily a feature of E," therefore, "Moses's rod" may reflect the work of a redactor (Propp, 1999:480).

Meyers contends (2005:119) that the poem exalts God, therefore Moses is not in the poem. Concerning the Exod 14 account of the outstretched hand over the Sea, she states, “As for many of the signs-and-wonders, Moses is to stretch out his staff (14:16; cf. “hand” in vv. 21 and 26 and also in v. 16), an act that will “divide the sea” (Meyers, 2005:115). But for Exod 15 she argues:

Moses disappears, and the hand or staff with which he divides and closes the waters is here the hand of God (vv. 6, 12). The waters are not split, with dry land in between; rather they become cosmically turbulent. (Meyers, 2005:119)

For Meyers, the emphasis of the poem “to exalt God” is the reason for the different descriptions of how the Sea opens and the how the waters move. Meyers says Exodus is the result of the conglomeration of JEDP sources (Meyers, 2005:16), but unlike Propp, does not indicate the specific sources for the narrative and poem.

2.2.2 Description of the water

The text of Exodus 14:22 records that there is a wall of water on either side of the Israelites, but in Exodus 15:8 the waters stand as a heap/wall. As with the outstretched hand, this detail is one not often cited by scholars who assign the text to sources. For this difference, Propp, Johnstone, and Smith make the following observations. Propp contends, “It seems that in JE, YHWH drives back the water, piling it into one wall, as in the Song (15:8). The two walls of water in 14:22 should therefore be assigned to P” (Propp, 1999:481). Johnstone notes that the difference between the Sea’s name in the narrative and the poem is due to a source distinction. He states, “P now specifies the Sea, for the historical recital, with D’s terminology, ‘Red Sea’” (Johnstone, 2014:302). Smith (2011:169) does not assign Exodus 15 to a source; rather he argues that “JE and P authors [of Exod 13:17-21 through 14:1-31] used it to craft their own prose accounts” and further, that the description of the waters in Exodus 15:4-8 point to the death of the Egyptians rather than the crossing of the Sea by the Israelites.

The picture focuses not on the Israelites’ progression through the sea but on the drowning Egyptians. How this exactly took place is not spelled out (which is not expected of a poem). To reconcile the versions requires one to reinterpret the piling up of the water as happening during the Israelites’ movement (as they are in 14:22), even though the Israelites are not mentioned in this part of the poem. (Smith, 2011:169)

2.2.3 Wind

In the narrative, YHWH sends an east wind to divide the Sea, but in the poem, it is YHWH's breath that moves the Sea. Johnstone attributes the difference to a source.

The "blast" of YHWH's nostrils is now the wind that drove back the Red Sea. The verse alluding to the crossing of the physical Sea adopts the D-versions account of the strong east wind damming back the waters (14:21) and couples it with the figure of the "heap" into which the waters gather (as in Josh 3:13, 16). (Johnstone, 2014: 302)

Clements does not emphasize the source as the reason for the difference but attributes the difference to "poetic hyperbole."

The blast of God's anger gives a personal coloring to the strong east wind which drove back the tidal waters of the sea. The picture of the waters forming a bank on each side is poetic hyperbole, which was later taken up literally into the historical narrative. (Clements, 1972:91)

Clements notes that the poetic account pre-dates the J source (Clements, 1972:90). Davies (1967:129) states, "The Hebrew word for spirit and wind is the same. Here the wind causes the water to cover the Egyptians. In 14.21 the wind uncovers dry land, but when the wind drops the waters return." Thus, it seems that Davies implies that it is not the force of the wind that leads to the death of the Egyptians in the narrative.

2.2.4 Death of the Egyptians

The poem describes the death of Pharaoh's military by drowning and by the earth swallowing up the army (Exod 15:10, 12). In the narrative, there is no account of the earth swallowing up the enemy. Driver (1911:136) posits, "The earth' must here be understood as inclusive of the sea." For Driver, this resolves the potentially differing presentations of the Egyptians' death. Gray (1971:131) understands the phrase "earth swallowed up" as "the bogging down of Pharaoh's chariots (cf. 14:25a)."

On the other hand, the detail in the narrative may have been suggested by this passage in the hymn. If so, the prose author probably misinterpreted it, for by earth the poet evidently meant Sheol, the underworld abode of the dead. (Gray, 1971:131)

Johnstone notes the reference to “earth swallowed up” in Exodus 15:12 does not reflect the manner of the Egyptians’ death, but instead refers to the Korahite rebellion (Johnstone, 2014:304). He assigns Exodus 15:12-18 to P. Johnstone (2014:304) and provides the following two reasons for his opinion: 1. The text does not say the “Egyptians” were swallowed up, and 2. the verbs indicate a past completed event.

2.2.5 Preliminary conclusions

Surprisingly, scholars who use the Documentary Hypothesis did not identify more differences between the narrative and poem and there was no consistency in source assignments. Propp compares the differences between the outstretched hand of Moses vs. YHWH, but Dozeman does not; Johnstone attributes the difference in the name of the sea as the Red Sea to a difference in sources, whereas Dozeman presents the cosmic imagery of YHWH’s dominance over the Sea. Concerning source assignments, Johnstone attributed differences to two exilic sources, D-version and P-edition. Propp assigns differences to JEDP, and Clements (1972:90) contends that at least one account is from material before the early record of the J source. Perhaps one of the reasons that proponents of the Documentary Hypothesis cite so few differences has to do with their belief that the text is the work of multiple sources, which implies that the texts differ. However, there is no question that scholars who use the Documentary Hypothesis have yet to address the specific reason(s) for differences between Exodus 13:17–14:31 and Exodus 15:1-18.

2.3 HISTORICAL-GRAMMATICAL INVESTIGATIONS

Scholars who use the historical-grammatical approach understand the events presented in the OT as a historical account of ancient Israel. This method attempts to uncover the author’s intent and understand how the *Sitz im Leben* can aid the reader in determining the meaning of the text as it was intended for its original audience. Scholars who use this method argue that differences can exist between texts either from scribal slips or because the author intended to emphasize a theme or event. Therefore, differences are not problematic; they rather hint at the meaning of the account. Scholars who observe the text as a historical event note one or more of the following differences between Exodus 13:17–14:31 and Exodus 15:1-18:1. Moses’ role and the outstretched hand; 2. the Egyptians’ boast to plunder the Israelites vs. the omission of plunder in the narrative; 3. the death of the Egyptians; 4. the wind; and 5. the pillar of cloud.

2.3.1 Moses' role and the outstretched hand

As stated in the Documentary Hypothesis section, the account of Moses' outstretched hand over the Sea is not in the poem. Stuart notes that the change from Moses' hand in the narrative to YHWH's hand in the poem signals that "Moses is YHWH's stand-in" (Stuart, 2006:312). In other words, Moses is YHWH's representative before the Israelites. Hamilton compares the two accounts and notes a contrast in the role of Moses in his dialogue with YHWH:

In chap. 14 Moses says nothing, but God asks him, "What are you crying out about to me?" (v. 15). In chap. 15, Moses is quite verbal, but God does not say, "What are you singing about to me!" Chapter 14 is about "warship"; chap. 15 is about worship. (Hamilton, 2011:232-33)

In another example, Hamilton observes that the narrative closes by referencing Moses, but the poem has no record of Moses at its conclusion, only YHWH. Hamilton continues that the ending shows one of the poem's purposes: "God's ruling" (Hamilton, 2011:236).

2.3.2 The Egyptians' boast

In the poem, the Egyptians declare that they will "plunder" the Israelites; this is not in the narrative. Stuart maintains that the Egyptians' boast of taking the Israelites as "plunder" in the poem (Exod 15:9) but not in the narrative indicates that the true intent of their pursuit was to kill the Israelites.

The army expected the usual reward of an ancient army, that is, plunder from those captured. Even though the assignment was presumably to capture rather than to kill (implied in 14:5), the time-honored right of plunder and the knowledge that the Israelites had plenty with them...sparked the army's assault. (Stuart, 2006:311)

Thus, the poem presents a more violent picture of the Egyptians' pursuit of the Israelites.

2.3.3 Death of the Egyptians

The death of the Egyptians in the narrative occurs only by drowning (Exod 14:27) but in the poem the Egyptians' death is presented in two ways: one, by water (Exod 15:10), and two, by the dry ground opening up and causing the Egyptians to sink into the earth (Exod 15:12). Stuart proposes that the phrase "the earth swallowed up" is the "underworld or hell" and that the "earth swallowed up" is not an indicator of how they died, but rather that their plans failed (Stuart, 2006:313). Kaiser notes the reference to the "earth swallowing" of the Egyptians is not

different because it is the grave (Kaiser, 2008:450). Keil and Delitzsch claim that the reference to “earth swallowing up” is not the death of the Egyptians. Instead, they contend that Exodus 15:5 refers to the death of future enemies (Keil & Delitzsch, 1866:54). Enns recognizes the different readings of “drowning” and “earth swallowing up,” insists this is due to “authorial intent,” and warns against exploring the reasons for differences. He claims,

If we go through this Song, as many have done, with a fine-toothed comb, looking for possible discrepancies with the narrative of chapter 14, we will find them; but in doing so, we will misread the Song. It is a modern penchant to require complete “consistency” between accounts, but the biblical authors are not so concerned. (Enns, 2000:1997)

Enns’ proposal that the “biblical authors are not so concerned” about “consistency” does not help the modern reader understand the reasons why the biblical author (even if it was the author’s intent) chose to present the narrative and poem differently. Houtman (1996:278-80) argues that “the Egyptian army may have been cast down into the sea by the waves returning to their former spot; thus the waters covered the army personnel and they drowned.”

2.3.4 Wind

Kaiser explains that the change from east wind in the narrative to YHWH’s wind in the poem occurs to give YHWH credit for the Sea’s opening. He insists, “‘the strong east wind’ of [Exod] 14:21 is here represented in theological terms as ‘blast of your nostrils’...thus confirming the divine agency behind the wind” (Kaiser, 2008:449). Derby argues similarly and contends that the purpose of the wind was not for the Israelites to cross the sea but to kill the Egyptians (Derby, 1992:255). Youngblood notes the east wind is “referred to poetically as the blast of God’s nostrils (15:8)” and shows that “miracles issue from God and occur in accordance with his timing as He controls the forces of nature to accomplish His will” (Youngblood, 1983:76). Ellison (1982:82) argues that the “blast of YHWH’s nostrils” is an example of anthropomorphism.

Modern man brought up in a tradition of science and the laws of nature, tend to find some of the Old Testament anthropomorphisms and related concepts, especially in its poetry, impossibly naïve. This applies to calling the strong east wind (14:21) the blast of thy nostrils (verse 8) without denying the reality of the laws of nature. We must learn to appreciate more deeply that our God is not controlled by his creation but controls it. (Ellison, 1982:82)

For Ellison, the poem shows that YHWH is the one that moves the Sea in the narrative and the poem. Cox (1969:222) argues similarly, “Poetic language often uses human analogies to describe an activity of God without intending strict literalism.”

2.3.5 The pillar of cloud

The narrative presents a pillar of cloud and an angel of God leading the Israelites (Exod 13:21 and 14:19); this is not in the poem. Blackburn posits that the poem omits the pillar of cloud because the purpose of the poem is to emphasize the work of YHWH (Blackburn, 2012:53). Hamilton states that the role of the pillar of cloud is replaced by “Israel’s reputation” in the poem. He contends, “In chap. 14 (and 13), a cloud goes ahead of Israel. In chap 15 (vv. 14-16), Israel’s reputation goes ahead of the people (Hamilton, 2011:232).” Exodus 15:14-16 records the enemies’ fear of the Israelite nation and how the Israelites pass by their enemies unhindered. For Hamilton, the reputation of Israel after the crossing of the Sea functions like the pillar of cloud by prohibiting the movement of the enemy.

2.3.6 Preliminary conclusions

In this section, most scholars attributed the differences to a change in genre and largely ignored an examination of the differences. Scholars who use the historical-grammatical process may be so eager to accept the text without error or contradiction that they conclude that the differences must be due to a change in genre. For example, Stuart’s discussion of the reference to “plunder” in the poem but not in the narrative indicates that the intent of the narrative and poem differed (the narrative is to return the Israelites to Egypt and the poem is to kill the Israelites). But Stuart does not address why the narrative focuses on re-enslaving the Israelites and the poem on the Egyptian’s destroying the Israelites. In another example, Hamilton argues that the angel of God and pillar of cloud that led Israel are “replaced” by Israel’s reputation, which goes ahead of them in the poem. But again, the question is why is that necessary? In other words, why does the poem draw attention to the reputation of Israel? Further, there are numerous differences between the narrative and poem presentations of the four major participants—YHWH, Pharaoh/Egyptians, Moses, and the Israelites—that scholars do not mention. This is why the current study is important. The Red Sea event in Exodus can tell the reader much more about YHWH, his people, and his enemies. By ignoring these differences there is much information about the account that remains hidden to the reader.

2.4 ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN BATTLES

Most scholars who compare the Red Sea event to an ancient Near Eastern battle account do not describe their approach to the text, whether they understand it as the work of sources,

from a common author, or whether it is an actual event in Israelite history. The process they use to evaluate the text is a comparative approach since they compare and contrast the themes in the Red Sea event against similar themes in ancient Near Eastern battle accounts.

In "Victory at sea: Prose and poetry in Exodus 14–15," Patterson observes that ancient Near Eastern poetic accounts of battles use narrative to communicate history and argues that the same thing occurs in Exodus 14–15. He states,

The prose and the longer of the two poetic accounts share an essential unity in several matters of theme and vocabulary. Both emphasize the sea and its waters (Exod 14:2, 9, 16, 21-23, 26-28, 29; 15:4-5, 8, 10) in which the Egyptians perished (14:23, 26-28; 15:1). Nevertheless, there are marked differences between the two. The prose narrative provides a setting for the core miracle, for it gives details of the arrival of both the Israelites and the Egyptians at sea. Further, the prose narrative includes such matters as the Israelites' fear because of the Egyptian presence, the divine assurances to Moses and the angelic intervention, the role played by Moses and his outstretched hand, the Egyptians' fright at the prospect of impending doom, and the Israelites' renewed reverence of the Lord and trust in Moses. (Patterson, 2004:49)

Patterson's listing of differences does not include an examination of why the poem differs from the narrative. Since his goal is to prove the text's historicity, he does not evaluate the purpose for the differences between the accounts, only that the sorts of similarities, differences, and unique content are also found in other Mesopotamian and Egyptian battle accounts. Thus, in his view, the Red Sea event is historical.

In his essay "Old Testament poetry as a vehicle for historiography," Grisanti presents a case for reading the biblical account as history instead of a story. He proposes that history-writing need not retell every event to be regarded as history. Building on the work of K. Lawson Younger's argument that Judges 4 and 5 have differences but are complementary, Grisanti concludes that the same can be said for Exodus 14 and Exodus 15. However, he does not provide a list of the differences; instead, he points the reader to Patterson's list of differences in Exodus 14–15 (Grisanti, 2004:173).

Berman investigates Exodus 13:17–14:31 and Exodus 15:1-18 in light of the Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II and determines that these two accounts have shared literary features (Berman, 2017:36). Berman compares the following five features:

1. "Moses' acts of separating the waters (14:21) and restoring the waters (14:26, 27) are unmentioned in the Song" (Berman, 2017:57).
2. "The Song does not speak of walls of water, but instead of a single wall (15:8)" (Berman, 2017:57).
3. "[Exodus] 15:9 tells of Egyptians in hot pursuit of the Israelites; the Song makes no explicit mention of the Israelites' passing through on dry land" (Berman, 2017:57).
4. "The narrative of Exodus 14 discusses the role of human agents such as Moses and the children of Israel; the poetic account of Exodus 15 portrays the Sea event as a battle between YHWH and the Egyptians" (Berman, 2017:59).
5. "The crossing of the Sea by the Israelites is only obliquely referenced because it was a one-time event" (Berman, 2017:57-60).

Although Berman lists some differences, his work focuses mainly on how the Exodus accounts resemble the pattern and content in the Kadesh Battle Inscriptions instead of comparing the differences between the Red Sea narrative and the poem. To be fair, this is the point of his argument—to show that the Exodus account of the Red Sea event in the narrative and poem is like the Kadesh Battle Inscriptions.

Scholars who examined the texts in light of ancient Near Eastern battle accounts focused more on why the Red Sea event was like an ancient Near Eastern battle account than the significance of the differences between the narrative and poem. The lack of attention to differences between the narrative and the poem once again points to the importance of this study.

2.5 CREATION ACCOUNTS

This section includes references to scholars' works that interpret the Red Sea event in light of Genesis 1 and the Canaanite Baal cycles. Scholars who take this position usually adhere to the Documentary Hypothesis and argue that the Red Sea event was composed like the Canaanite Baal cycle to show that YHWH is a more powerful God than Baal (Russell, 2017:110; Brenner, 2012:187; Fretheim, 2010:158; Cross and Freedman, 1955:240). The content of the Red Sea event commonly explored by scholars in this area are: 1. YHWH's power over enemies; 2. YHWH's breath and the east wind; 3. Moses' role; 4. YHWH's sanctuary; and 5. YHWH dwelling with Israel.

2.5.1 YHWH's power over enemies

Brenner compares the poetic account of Exodus 15:1-18 to the Ugaritic Baal Cycles and the Babylonian creation epic, Enuma Elish, to the poetic account of Exodus 15:1-18. He attributes the poem to “D traditions” (Brenner, 2012:187) and the narrative to J, E, and P (Brenner, 2012:86). Listed below are five of his observations (Brenner, 2012:99). The abbreviation KTU refers to *Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit (The cuneiform texts of Ugarit)*.

1. KTU 1.2, IV 8f; Enuma Elish IV, 16: The power of the deity against his enemy, the sea, is proclaimed immediately before his victory.
Ex 15:6: The power of Yahweh is proclaimed against his enemy immediately before his victory over them in the sea.
2. KTU 1.2, IV, 11-40; Enuma Elish IV: The deity defeats his enemy, the waters, and gains control of them.
Ex 15:8: Yahweh defeats his enemies by the waters that he controls.
3. KTU 1.4, VII, 49f; Enuma Elish VII, 13f: The deity, after his victory, is supreme among the gods.
Ex 15:1: YHWH, after he has worked his victory, is declared incomparable among the gods.
4. KTU 1.3, 4; Enuma Elish VI, 51-74: The deity builds a sanctuary for his residence.
Ex 15:17: Yahweh has built a sanctuary for his residence.
5. KTU 1.2, IV, 10, 32; Enuma Elish IV, 27: The deity is acclaimed king.
Ex 15:18: Yahweh is acclaimed to rule as king.

Russell, in his essay “Song of the Sea and the subversion of Canaanite myth,” focuses not on the ways the narrative and poem differ, but instead he looks at the similarities and differences between the poem and Canaanite myth. For example, Russell notes, “Exodus 15:14–16 describes the terror and dread that falls on the peoples of Canaan.... But unlike Mot, who proved a worthy and equal opponent to Baal, the peoples of Canaan already stand defeated” (Russell, 2017:112). But he does not mention why these enemies are not present in the narrative. He argues, “YHWH is king over creation. Unlike the Baal Cycle, where a similar confession for Baal occurs in the middle of the story, YHWH stands as an unrivaled king at the end of the poem” (Russell, 2017:112). But he does not mention Moses’ declaration to the Israelites that YHWH would fight for his people and that the Egyptians they see today they would see no more. He states “Against the polytheistic backdrop of the Baal Cycle, the ancient reader was struck by the unilateral action of YHWH. YHWH acts alone to defeat the powers

of Egypt and the future enemies of God's people" (Russell, 2017:113). But he does not address the fact that in the narrative YHWH is not acting alone or the reasons why the narrative presents YHWH acting through his creation.

Thus, although he mentions that YHWH is greater than the Canaanite representation of Baal, he does not determine how YHWH's greatness is otherwise indicated in the narrative account of the Red Sea event.

2.5.2 YHWH's breath and the east wind

Cross (1968:16) equates the blowing of YHWH's breath upon the waters to a "battle between two gods." He argues that Exodus 15:1b-18 predates J and E (Cross, 1968:11) and, in a separate essay co-authored with Freedman, postulates that Exodus 14:1-31 is the work of J and P (Cross & Freedman, 1955:238). He notes the following differences between the poem and the narrative account:

There is no suggestion in the poem of splitting a sea or an east wind blowing the waters back so that the Israelites can cross on a dry sea-bottom or of the waters returning to overwhelm Egyptians mired in mud. Indeed, it is a storm-tossed sea directed against the Egyptians by the breath of the deity. Moreover, the Sea is not personified or hostile but a passive instrument in YHWH's control. There is no question here of a mythological battle between two gods. (Cross, 1968:16)

For Cross, the differences between the narrative and the poem, along with YHWH's dominance over the sea, provide further evidence of the mythological features of the poem.

Fretheim (2010:159-167) argues that YHWH's breath and the east wind represent the following acts of creation:

1. The east wind's division of the sea and YHWH's "separation of the waters" in Genesis 1 results in the creation of a new people.
2. YHWH's breath in Exodus 15:8 "subdues chaos." Fretheim notes that Egyptians and the waters represent chaos (Fretheim, 2010:150-67).

2.5.3 Moses' role

Fretheim argues that Moses' role in the dividing of the sea recalls Genesis creation of humanity.

It should not be forgotten that Moses is thus to be regarded as God's instrument in creation and redemption. This is continuous with 'let us make' of Genesis 1:26, where creation is shown to be a dialogical act. The extension of dominion to the human in creation is here exemplified in a specific creative act. (Fretheim, 2010:159)

For Fretheim, Moses participates with YHWH in the establishment of a new creation, i.e., the freeing of Israel from Pharaoh and the Egyptians.

2.5.4 Sanctuary

Cross and Freedman (1955:240) note the parallel between the reference to YHWH's sanctuary and the establishment of Baal's sanctuary,

The reference in vs. 17 to Yahweh's building a sanctuary is reminiscent of the building of a new temple by Baal in the Ugaritic cycle (cf. Gordon, Text 51). As a matter of fact, temple building was a popular pastime among the gods of Canaan: Yamm has one built for him; °Aṭtar petitions for a temple; etc. It is not improbable that Baal builds his new temple following his great victory over Yamm as an expression of his newly won kingship.

Brenner (2012:99) argues similarly:

KTU 1.3,4; Enuma Elish VI, 51-74: The deity builds a sanctuary for his residence. Exod 15:17: YHWH has built a sanctuary for his residence.

2.5.5 YHWH dwelling with Israel

Russell notes that YHWH dwells with his people but Baal with the gods (Russell, 2017:112-115). He does not address the fact that, while YHWH dwells with his people in the poem, there is no mention of YHWH dwelling with his people in the narrative.

2.5.6 Preliminary conclusions

The contributions of scholars who liken the Red Sea event to a creation myth as stated in the introduction focus more on how the account is like creation than on why the two accounts differ. The wind once again overpowers chaos. Humanity is made anew by the separation of waters. Moses is YHWH's representative who leads the new creation. All of this points to a future in which humanity once again dwells in the midst of YHWH. The Red Sea event does have parts of the narrative and poem that resemble acts of creation. But this process largely ignores key areas in the narrative, such as the pillar of cloud and angel of God, YHWH's

interfering with the movement of Pharaoh's chariots, the route out of Egypt, the Israelites' regret over leaving Egypt. Thus, examining the text in light of creation accounts does not resolve the question of why the narrative and poem present different accounts of the Red Sea event.

2.6 SMALLER UNCATEGORIZED STUDIES

There are other essays (Reynolds, 2013:587; O'Rourke 2004:18; Overstreet, 2003:83; Segert, 1996:196; Craigie, 1970: 85) that have been published addressing grammatical phrases in the Red Sea event, but the problem with these studies is that they focus on the meaning of select phrases, not on the meaning and reasons for differences.

2.7 CONCLUSION

This literature review shows that the meaning of the differences between Exodus 13:17–14:31 and Exodus 15:1-18 has not been sufficiently addressed in scholarship. There was not a single study from the scholars using the Documentary Hypothesis, historical-grammatical investigation, or comparative studies with the ancient Near Eastern battle or creation accounts that examined the meaning of each difference between Exodus 13:17–14:31 and Exodus 15:1-18. Thus, while scholars provide a reason for some differences, a comprehensive study on the meaning of each difference and how it informs the account of the Red Sea event in Exodus 13:17–14:31 and Exodus 15:1-18 remains to be done. The next chapter presents a detailed list of the differences and omissions between the narrative and poem. The list further shows the amount of content yet to be addressed by modern scholarship.

CHAPTER THREE: AN OVERVIEW OF THE DIFFERENCES AND OMISSIONS IN THE RED SEA EVENT IN EXODUS 13:17– 14:31 AND EXODUS 15:1-18

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter three of this study addresses the second objective—to outline, categorize, and discuss the different words, themes, and events in the narrative and the poem—and the second research question: “what are the differences between the narrative and the poem?” This chapter compares and contrasts the narrative and poetic accounts of the Red Sea event in the book of Exodus. This chapter will not focus on the similarities between Exodus 13:17–14:31 and Exodus 15:1-18 because this thesis argues that the differences and omissions point to the purposes of the narrative and the poem. This chapter has three sections: one, the Stages of the Red Sea event according to the chronology of events in Exodus 13:17–14:31; two, the categorization of the differences and omissions according to the Stages of the Red Sea event (there are thirteen differences and twenty-three omissions); and three, a discussion of how each impacts the account of the Red Sea event in the narrative and the poem. The discussion of the differences and omissions includes fewer scholarly references because it is meant to provide an overview of the differences and omissions between the narrative and the poem. Further analysis of other scholars’ contributions to Exodus 13:17–14:31 and Exodus 15:1-18 is taken up in chapters four through six, which address the meaning and reasons for differences and omissions between the narrative and poem.

Before proceeding to the outline of the differences, this thesis provides a brief overview of the Red Sea event within the Exodus account, and some comments on the dating of the Israelites’ exodus and the composition of the narrative and poem.

3.1.1 Overview of the Red Sea event

The Red Sea event as recounted in Exodus 13:17–14:31 and Exodus 15:1-18 represents a pinnacle moment in the book of Exodus. The Red Sea event explains how the Israelites, formerly slaves, exit Egypt and respond to their deliverance through the Red Sea. The Red Sea event establishes the Israelites as a free people, independent of the bondage inflicted upon them by Pharaoh. More importantly, the Red Sea event is the evidence that YHWH has kept part of his covenantal promise to Abraham to bring his people out of Egypt. (Genesis 15:7-21).

Exodus 1 begins with the Israelite genealogy of those who moved to Egypt to reside with Jacob, a report that Joseph and his brothers died, and the ascension of a new king of Egypt who does not know Joseph. Whether this new king is an Egyptian king or a Hyksos king who overthrew the previous Egyptian ruler is a matter of debate (Stuart, 2006:52-53; Kaiser, 1998:82). The new Pharaoh implemented policies of excessive work, enslavement, and genocide to curtail the growth of the Israelites. YHWH, by divine providence, causes Moses' life to be spared and for him to be adopted and raised in the home of Pharaoh's daughter and weaned by his biological mother (Exodus 2). As an adult, Moses showed compassion for the Israelites. He kills an Egyptian who beat an Israelite and he attempts to stop two Israelites from fighting one another. Thus, before YHWH calls Moses to lead the people, it is evident that Moses cares for the lives of the Israelites. Exodus 2 records that Moses flees from Egypt to Midian because he fears that he will be killed for killing an Egyptian. Exodus 2 also records that the punishment of the Israelites continued, but YHWH heard their cry and remembered his covenant with their forefathers.

Exodus 3 describes Moses' encounter with YHWH through the burning bush on Mt. Horeb. YHWH tells Moses he has heard the cry of his people, that he has come to deliver them, and that Moses is to go to Pharaoh and demand the release of the Israelites. After hesitating because he fears he cannot complete the task, Moses obeys YHWH and returns to Egypt to demand that Pharaoh release the Israelites. However, Pharaoh does not let the people go, and YHWH sends ten plagues, the final one being the death of the firstborn, which eventually causes Pharaoh to release the Israelites. Before their departure, the Israelites are given instructions on how to keep the Passover celebration. The Passover ensures that the people remember that YHWH delivered his people out of Egypt.

However, their exodus from Egypt was not without trouble. The Israelites see the approaching Egyptians as they are encamped against the Red Sea. The Israelites are terrified and question Moses for taking them out of Egypt. Moses encourages them to trust YHWH who will cause the Egyptians "they see today to be seen no more." Then Moses cries to YHWH, who responds by questioning Moses—why are you crying out to me? YHWH gives Moses instructions to lead the people forward and he sends an east wind to divide the sea. After the Israelites safely cross the sea, the Egyptians enter the sea intent on capturing the Israelites. However, YHWH clogs the chariot wheels and has Moses stretch his hand back over the sea so it will close over the Egyptians. On that day, the Egyptians drown in the sea and the Egyptians see their dead bodies along the seashore. The Exodus narrative closes with the report that the Israelites then feared and believed in YHWH and his servant Moses.

Exodus 15 records the Israelites response to the victory through a song. The Israelites sing of YHWH destruction of the enemy in the sea (Exodus 15:1). The Israelites declare that YHWH is the one who brought them salvation and that he is their God, as well as their father's God (Exodus 15:2). The poem continues by describing YHWH as a warrior and repeating the defeat of Pharaoh's army at the sea. (Exodus 15:3) The poem records that YHWH personally destroys the enemy with his right hand (Exodus 15: 6); the blowing of his wind, which causes the sea to cover the enemy (Exodus 15:10), and his outstretched right hand that leads to the earth swallowing the enemy (Exodus 15:12). But YHWH is merciful to Israel (Exodus 15:13). He leads them to a place of his presence (Exodus 15:13,17). The feat of YHWH is so great that other nations, who the Israelites have yet to encounter are afraid because of what they have heard (Exodus 15:14-16). The poem concludes with a declaration that YHWH's reign is forever. (Exodus 15:18).

YHWH's victory over the Egyptians and his deliverance of his people out of Egypt is repeated throughout the OT (see Numbers 33; Deuteronomy 11; Joshua 2, 4, 24; Psalms 78, 106, 136; Isaiah 63; Nehemiah 9) to remind future generations of how YHWH kept his promise to bring Israel out of Egypt.

3.1.2 Date of the Exodus

At present, there remains no consensus on the date of the Israelites' exodus or the composition of the narrative and poem. Some scholars assign the Israelites' exodus to an early date in the 15th century B.C.E. (Howard, 2007:68; Stuart, 2006:19; Aling, 1981:96 Bimson, 1981:15) or 14th century B.C.E. (Wood, 1990:44-45), some to a late date in the 13th century B.C.E. (Hoffmeier, 2007:226; Kitchen,1966:61; Sarna,1991:xiv; Albright, 1935:17), and some to the even later date of 1100 B.C.E. (Rendsburg, 1992:513).

The debate centers on at least four concerns; one is whether the numbers of the Israelites' journey out of Egypt in 1 Kings 6 and Judges 11:26 should be viewed as literal or symbolic. Kaiser (1990:340) argues, "the material from Judges is in keeping with the total years in 1 Kings 6:1 and the general case made for internal consistency of the biblical record for the early date of the exodus as c. 1446." But, Sarna (1991:xiv) argues,

Unfortunately, this dating cannot be reconciled with many other details of the biblical narrative. Thus Moses, who lived in the Nile Delta, is easily and frequently in touch with the ruling pharaoh, who lived in the Nile Delta. But in the fifteenth century B.C.E. the Egyptian capital and royal palace were

located at Thebes, a distance of more than four hundred miles (ca. 650 km.) to the south of the Delta.

The second concern has to do with the store cities, Pithom and Ramesses, which were built to honor Ramesses II. Garrett (2014:48) argues, “We know that this city was built by and for Ramesses II (reigned 1279-1213). Taken at face value, this indicates that the Israelites were present and working in Egypt during the reign of Ramesses II in the 13th century.” However, Schipper (2015:270) recently challenged the dating of the store cities to Ramesses of the 13th century and posited that they were constructed during the “7th century B.C.E.”

The third concern is how to interpret the reference to Israel on the Merneptah Stela dated in 13th B.C. Scholars have questioned whether the Israel reference on the stela refers to the descendants of Jacob (whose name was changed to Israel) or another Israel. Hasel (1994:47) argues, “Most scholars agree that the *Israel* of the Merneptah stela is in some way related to the Israel of Hebrew Bible...although the archaeological continuity between the two sources has yet to be established.” If this Israel descends from Jacob, then the Israelites left Egypt before the 13th B.C.

The fourth concern is how to interpret the archaeological ruins of places like Jericho and Ai. Rendsburg (1992:513) argues, “A serious difficulty for this theory [late exodus], however, is that many of the sites mentioned in the Bible as having fallen into Israelite hands, such as Jericho, Ai, Heshbon, and Arad, did not exist during the 13th century B.C.E.” But Hoffmeier (1999:7), noting the impact of fellow scholar Wood, argues:

However, Bryant G. Wood has recently reassessed the Jericho material by comparing Garstang’s publications, the material in Excavations at Jericho volumes three through five, and unpublished Jericho ceramics.... Thus, the problem of Jericho has been reopened for discussion, and firm conclusions concerning the Israelites must be withheld until the recent publications on Jericho have been studied thoroughly, or there are new excavations.

3.1.3 Date of composition

Alexander (2017:10) argues, “Almost nothing can be said with any certainty about the authorship and date of composition of Exodus.” However, for many scholars, the date of the composition has a bearing on the motive for composition. Johnstone (2014:8) argues that the Red Sea event was composed in the exilic and postexilic periods. He states,

The exilic and post-exilic dates of these accounts provide the circumstances for the composition of an epic of national origins that are a positive advantage for theological statement. By the time of the composition of the book of Exodus, the events surrounding the exodus from Egypt had taken place in the remote past, perhaps a thousand years earlier.

Childs (1974:245) argues that the narrative is the work of multiple sources representing hundreds of years. Concerning the poem, he argues, “the poetic tradition represents initially a parallel development with the prose account rather than being a part of a linear development from J to P.” For Propp, the narrative represents the various sources, but the poem is the work of E, dating to around the 8th century B.C. Scholars (Stuart, 2016:28; Kaiser, 2008:288) who propose the text is the work of Moses argue that the text was composed by Moses before the Israelites crossed the Jordan.

This thesis examines the text in its final form, where, in general, the narrative provides an account of the events, and the poem records the Israelites’ celebration of YHWH’s victory over his enemies. Further, this thesis shares a similar view to Child’s understanding of the final form of the text. Childs (1974:xiv-xv) states,

From a literary point of view, there is a great need to understand the present composition as a piece of literature with its own integrity. The concentration of critical scholars on form-critical and source analysis has tended to fragment the text and leave the reader with only bits and pieces. But an even more important reason for interpreting the final text is a theological one. It is the final text, the composite narrative, in its present shape which the church, following the lead of the synagogue, accepted as canonical and thus the vehicle of revelation and instruction.

Now, this thesis turns to a presentation of the differences and omissions between the Red Sea event in the narrative and the poem.

3.2 A TABULAR OVERVIEW OF DIFFERENCES AND OMISSIONS

Listed below is Table 3-1, which shows thirteen differences and twenty-three omissions between Exodus 13:17–14:31 and Exodus 15:1-18 and includes a column categorizing each difference and omission according to the Stages of the Red Sea event.

The following Stages of the Red Sea event can be noted:

- Stage one: Exodus out of Egypt
- Stage two: The Egyptians' preparation for the pursuit of the Israelites
- Stage three: The Israelites' recognition of the Egyptian pursuit
- Stage four: The opening of the sea
- Stage five: The crossing of the sea
- Stage six: The death of the Egyptians
- Stage seven: The punishment of all enemies
- Stage eight: Fellowship with YHWH

Table 3-1: Differences and omissions between Exodus 13:17–14:31 and 15:1-18

	NARRATIVE (Exod 13-14)		POEM (Exod 15)	STAGE
1	Pharaoh lets the Israelites go (13:17)		Omission	1
2	Philistia (a place to avoid), Sukkoth, Etham, Pi-Hahiroth, Migdol, and Baal Zephon (13:17, 20; 14:2)		Omission	1
3	YHWH leads his people to the sea (13:17-18)	Difference	YHWH leads with steadfast love to his holy dwelling/sanctuary/mountain of inheritance (15:13, 17)	8
4	YHWH reveals the Israelites will change their mind and turn from war (13:17)		Omission	1
5	The enemies of Israel are the Egyptians and Philistines (13:17)	Difference	List of other enemies of Israel, the Philistines, Edomites, Moabites, and the Canaanites (15:4, 14-16)	7
6	The Israelites left Egypt equipped/organized for battle (13:18)		Omission	1
7	Moses retrieves Joseph's bones (13:19)		Omission	1
8	Pillar of cloud/angel of God (13:21-22; 14:19-20)		Omission	1
9	YHWH speaks to Moses (14:1-4, 15-18, 26)	Difference	YHWH does not speak to anyone	4
10	Pharaoh believes the Israelites are confused in the wilderness (14:3)		Omission	2
11	The name Egypt/Egyptian (13:17-18; 14:4, 9-10, 12-13, 17-18, 20, 23-27, 30-31)		Omission	7
12	YHWH hardens Pharaoh and the Egyptians' hearts (14:4, 8, 17)		Omission	2
13	YHWH desires to gain glory over Pharaoh and the Egyptians (14:4, 17-18)		Omission	2
14	Pharaoh is told the Israelites have left Egypt (14:5)		Omission	2
15	Pharaoh and the Egyptians change their mind about letting the Israelites leave the land (14:5)		Omission	2

	NARRATIVE (Exod 13-14)		POEM (Exod 15)	STAGE
16	The Israelites were slaves to the Egyptians (14:5,12)	Difference	The Israelites belong to YHWH (15:2)	8
17	Gathering the military for the pursuit of the Israelites (14:6-7)		Omission	2
18	The Israelites march out boldly (14:8)		Omission	1
19	The Israelites cry out and confess fear of their enemies (14:10-12)	Difference	The Israelites boast of defeating their future enemies (15:14-16)	3
20	The prediction of the Egyptians' defeat (14:13-14)		Omission	6
21	Moses stretches forth his hand with the rod (14:16, 21)	Difference	YHWH stretches forth his hand (15:6)	4
22	YHWH sends an east wind to divide the sea (14:21)	Difference	The breath of YHWH's nostrils moves the sea back (15:8)	4
23	Moses leads the people through the sea (14:22)	Difference	Moses leads the Israelites in singing to YHWH (15:1b-18)	5
24	The Israelites cross a divided sea before the Egyptians die (14:22)	Difference	The Israelites pass over dry land after the account of the Egyptians' death (15:10, 12, 16)	5
25	Walls of water (14:22)	Difference	Wall of water (15:8)	4
26	The Egyptian army panics and retreats (Exod 14:24)	Difference	The Egyptians sink like lead and die in silence (15:5, 10, 12)	6
27	Omission		The Egyptians taunt/boast (15:9)	2
28	Omission		New enemies are fearful (15:14-16)	7
29	YHWH clogs up the Egyptians' chariot wheels (14:25)		Omission	6
30	Time of the Egyptians' death (14:24, 27, 30)		Omission	6
31	The Egyptians drown in the sea (14:28)	Difference	The earth swallows the Egyptians (15:12)	6
32	Egyptians lie dead along the seashore (14:30)		Omission	6
33	The Israelites believe in Moses as YHWH's representative (14:31)		Omission	7
34	The Israelites fear YHWH (14:31)	Difference	Israelites praise YHWH (15:1b-18)	8
35	Omission		Mountain of inheritance and sanctuary (15:17)	8
36	Omission		YHWH's reign is eternal (15:1b-18)	8

3.3 OVERVIEW OF DIFFERENCES AND OMISSIONS

3.3.1 In the narrative, Pharaoh lets the Israelites go (Exod 13:17)

The narrative begins by announcing that the Israelites were let go by Pharaoh. The release by Pharaoh confirms that YHWH has kept his promise to free the Israelites (Exod 3:20). In addition, it tells the reader that the Israelites did not leave the land of Egypt without Pharaoh's knowledge and permission. Pharaoh's granting of the Israelites' release is not in the poem. Thus, there is no record in the poem of the Israelites' enslavement by the Egyptians. The poem begins with an announcement that Moses and the Israelites sing a song to YHWH.

3.3.2 In the narrative, Philistia, Sukkoth, Etham, Pi-Hahiroth, Migdol, and Baal Zephon (Exod 13:17, 20; 14:2)

The narrative presents the specific sites the Israelites either avoid (Philistia) or travel to (Sukkoth, Etham, Pi-Hahiroth, Migdol, and Baal Zephon) when they leave Egypt. Therefore, the narrative provides a geographic record of the sites encountered by the Israelites when they were released. The details of the Israelites' journey out of Egypt are not in the poem. So, from the poem, it is impossible to know how the Israelites arrive at the sea.

3.3.3 In the narrative, YHWH leads his people to the sea (Exod 13:17-18), but in the poem, YHWH leads with steadfast love to his holy dwelling/sanctuary/mountain of inheritance (Exod 15:13, 17)

YHWH leads his people to the Red Sea in the narrative, which initially presents an obstacle to their journey. In the poem, YHWH brings the Israelites to a place where he intends to dwell with them, and he does so because he loves the Israelites. The poem includes the first mention of YHWH's love for Israel and his sanctuary in the book of Exodus.

3.3.4 In the narrative, YHWH reveals the Israelites will change their mind and turn from war (Exod 13:17)

The announcement that the Israelites will change their mind and turn from war indicates that the Israelites do not want to fight and that there is a real threat to their journey out of the land of Egypt. Consequently, YHWH needs to lead the Israelites away from danger.

3.3.5 The enemies of Israel are the Egyptians and Philistines in the narrative (Exod 13:17), but in the poem, the enemies include the Philistines, Edomites, Moabites, Canaanites, and Pharaoh and his host (Exod 15:4, 14-16)

The poem includes more enemies than in the narrative. Despite the increased number of enemies, the Israelites declare that YHWH would defeat the new enemies just as he defeated the Egyptians.

3.3.6 In the narrative, the Israelites left Egypt equipped/organized for battle (Exod 13:18)

The narrative describes the Israelites' leaving Egypt: **וּחְמָשִׁים עָלוּ בְנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל** ("and the children of Israel went up equipped for battle"). The meaning of the phrase has received considerable attention by scholars because it presents the Israelites, who will turn from war (Exod 13:17), as prepared to engage in battle with her enemies (Kaiser, 2008:789). There is no reference to the Israelites' departure or preparation for war in the poem.

3.3.7 In the narrative, Moses retrieves Joseph's bones (Exod 13:19)

Moses remembers the oath made between Joseph and the Israelites to take his bones with them when YHWH delivered them out of Egypt. The removal of the bones out of the land of Egypt confirms that YHWH remembered his promise to the patriarchs to free the Israelites from bondage (Gen 15:13-14). Brueggemann (ebook 1994 ch. 13) argues,

The inclusion of Joseph's bones on the journey once again binds the exodus community to the old promises of Genesis, as in Exod 2:24; 3:16; and 6:3. Moreover, the paragraph appeals to the firm faith of the dying father Joseph [who is] not usually cited as a carrier of faith. The people who make the journey carry with them, in the tangible form of these bones, very old promises and very sure faith."

Also, it is a visible sign to the Israelites that YHWH is with his people as they journey out of Egypt.

3.3.8 In the narrative, Pillar of cloud/angel of God (Exod 13:21-22; 14:19-20)

YHWH provides the pillar of cloud and angel of God to guide and protect the Israelites on their journey out of Egypt. The poem provides no account of the Israelites' exodus from Egypt or the Israelites' being trapped against a sea—the two areas where the Israelites needed the assistance of the pillar of cloud and angel of God.

3.3.9 In the narrative, YHWH speaks to Moses (Exod 14:1-4, 15-18, 26), but he does not speak to anyone in the poem

There are three divine speeches from YHWH to Moses. In speech one, YHWH provides Moses with direction out of Egypt and Pharaoh's response (Exod 14:1-4); speech two includes a question concerning Moses' crying to YHWH and instructions on how the Israelites should respond to the Egyptian pursuit (Exod 14:15-18); and in speech three, YHWH commands Moses to stretch his hand over the sea so the waters would overtake the Egyptians (Exod 14:26). In the poem, YHWH is silent as the Israelites sing of YHWH's deliverance, power, and majesty.

3.3.10 In the narrative, Pharaoh believes the Israelites are confused in the wilderness (Exod 14:3)

YHWH reveals to Moses that Pharaoh and the Egyptians will believe the Israelites are wandering in the wilderness. But, in the poem, Pharaoh does not mention whether the

Israelites are confused, and the physical location of the Israelites does not seem to have bearing on the Egyptians' choice to pursue the Israelites.

3.3.11 In the narrative, the name Egypt/Egyptian is repeated (Exod 13:17-18; 14:4, 9-10, 12-13, 17-18, 20, 23-27, 30-31)

The word מצרים (Egypt, Egyptians) is in thirteen verses of the narrative, but not once in the poem. Brueggemann (ebook ch. 14, 1994) notes that מצרים "Egypt" occurs "5 times" in Exod 14:11-12 and that it shows the people's "distrust" of YHWH. He argues,

It is the only name [Egypt] they know, the name upon which they rely, the name they love to sound. In the speech of the protesting, distrusting people, the name of Yahweh, however, is completely absent. They do not perceive Yahweh as being in any way a pertinent, active member of the plot.

Many scholars rightfully argue that the poem, at least in Exodus 15:1-11, references the Red Sea event where YHWH delivers the Israelites out of Egypt (Johnstone, 2014:300). However, the omission of מצרים from the poem, especially in light of another name omission in the book of Exodus, i.e., the name of Pharaoh, may have been done for a purpose.

3.3.12 In the narrative, YHWH hardens Pharaoh and the Egyptians' hearts (Exod 14:4, 8, 17)

YHWH hardens the hearts of Pharaoh and the Egyptians, which ensures they will chase after the Israelites into the sea and die. In the poem, there is no account of the hardened heart of Pharaoh and his host or of Pharaoh needing the motivation to pursue the Egyptians.

3.3.13 In the narrative, YHWH desires to gain glory over Pharaoh and the Egyptians (Exod 14:4, 17, 18)

It is only the Red Sea narrative that YHWH reveals his desire is to be glorified and known by the Egyptians. For the poem, the Egyptians do not glorify YHWH; only the Israelites acknowledge YHWH's power. Thus, it is evident that the Israelites' release from bondage has not caused the Egyptians to recognize YHWH's greatness and majesty.

3.3.14 In the narrative, Pharaoh is told the Israelites have left Egypt (Exod 14:5)

Exodus 14:5 records that Pharaoh receives word that all the Israelites have left. The text once again affirms that the Israelites lived in Egypt under the authority of Pharaoh and the Egyptians. There is some debate whether ברה in Exodus 14:5 should be translated as "to

depart” or “to flee” (Vervenne, 1996:45-58) to describe the Israelites’ going out of Egypt. If ברח means “to flee,” then this reading of the text could indicate the Israelites left without permission and contradict the phrase in Exodus 13:17 וַיְהִי בִשְׁלַח פַּרְעֹה אֶת־הָעָם (“and when Pharaoh sent away the people”). It could also imply that the Egyptians had a right to pursue and recapture the Israelites. The range of meaning for ברח is further discussed in chapter four. There is no record in the poem of Pharaoh receiving notification of the Israelites departure from Egypt or that Pharaoh and the Egyptians once enslaved the Israelites.

3.3.15 In the narrative, Pharaoh and the Egyptians change their mind about letting the Israelites leave the land (Exod 14:5)

Exodus 14:5 does not mention why the Egyptians regret the departure of the Israelites; it may be due to the loss of a sizeable labor force. There is no indication in the poem that the Israelites served the Egyptians in any meaningful way.

3.3.16 In the narrative, the Israelites were slaves to the Egyptians (Exod 14:5,12), but in the poem, they belong to YHWH (Exod 15:2)

Once again, the narrative presents the Israelites as former slaves to the Egyptians. But in the poem, the Israelites, for the first time, confess a new identity as children of YHWH.

3.3.17 Gathering the military for the pursuit of the Israelites in the narrative (Exod 14:6-7)

The narrative records Pharaoh and the Egyptians gathering the best of their military, horsemen, footmen, and even a שלישי “third man,” “officer,” or “chief of the three” (Brown, Driver, Briggs, 2001:1026) for each chariot. Undoubtedly, the Egyptians were well prepared to capture the departing Israelites. There is no preparation for the pursuit in the poem—the Egyptian military is on the scene boasting of their intent to destroy the Israelites.

3.3.18 In the narrative, the Israelites march out boldly (Exod 14:8)

The Israelites leave Egypt without any fear of the Egyptians or any other future enemies. However, this boldness changes to fear in Exodus 14:10 when they realize they are being pursued by the Egyptians. The poem provides no reference to the Israelites’ departure from Egypt.

3.3.19 The Israelites cry out and confess fear of their enemies in the narrative (Exod 14:10-12), but in the poem, the Israelites boast about defeating their future enemies (Exod 15:14-16)

The Israelites see the Egyptians and respond just as YHWH predicted; they desire to return to Egypt. They are not confident that YHWH will rescue them from the Egyptians. However, in the poem the Israelites declare that YHWH will defeat future enemies who will be immobilized by fear.

3.3.20 The prediction of the Egyptians' defeat in the narrative (Exod 14:13-14)

In Exodus 14:13, Moses tells the Israelites that the Egyptian army which pursued the Israelites will no longer be seen. Yet, they are seen as dead men in v. 30. Thus, Moses' announcement must reference the condition of the Egyptians changing from alive to dead men, rather than the Israelites' merely looking upon the Egyptians. There is no record in the poem that the Israelites needed encouragement to believe that the Egyptians will die. Instead, the Israelites describe the death of the Egyptians and celebrate YHWH for killing their enemies.

3.3.21 Moses stretches forth his hand with the rod in the narrative (Exod 14:16, 21), but YHWH stretches forth his hand in the poem (Exod 15:6)

In the narrative, YHWH commands Moses to stretch out his hand with a rod over the sea, then YHWH sends an east wind to divide the sea. In the poem, YHWH stretches forth his hand, and his hand destroys the Egyptians. The outstretched hand of Moses is the beginning of the deliverance for the Israelites, but the outstretched hand of YHWH causes the immediate death of the Egyptians.

3.3.22 YHWH sends an east wind to divide the sea in the narrative (Exod 14:21), but in the poem, the breath of YHWH's nostrils moves the sea over the Egyptians (Exod 15:8)

In Exodus 15:8, a "blast from YHWH's nostrils" causes waters to overtake the Egyptians who drown in the sea. In Exodus 14:21, YHWH commands a strong east wind to split the waters, the sea opens, and the Israelites cross on dry ground. In the narrative, the wind causes the waters to separate so the Israelites can cross the sea, but in the poem, the movement of the waters causes the defeat of the Egyptians. The poem does not state explicitly that the Israelites passed through a divided sea. The narrative does not state whether a wind was used to close the sea over the Egyptians.

3.3.23 Moses leads the people through the sea in the narrative (Exod 14:22), but he leads the Israelites in singing to YHWH in the poem (Exod 15:1b-18)

In the narrative, Moses follows the instructions of YHWH and leads the people out of Egypt to the sea and through the sea. But in the poem, he leads them in singing a song which only glorifies YHWH. In his role as a singer, he is indistinguishable from all other Israelites who respond to their victory by praising YHWH.

3.3.24 The Israelites cross a divided sea in the narrative (Exod 14:22) before the Egyptians die, but in the poem, the Israelites pass over dry land after the account of the Egyptians' death (Exod 15:10, 12, 16)

The narrative presents an account of the Israelites crossing the sea while the Egyptians are temporarily held back from their pursuit of the Israelites by the pillar of cloud and angel of God (Exod 14:19-20). But the poem presents the Israelites crossing dry land after the Egyptians' death in the sea (Exod 15:10) and the account that they were swallowed up by the earth (Exod 15:12).

3.3.25 Walls of water in the narrative (Exod 14:22), but a wall of water in the poem (Exod 15:8)

In the narrative, the east wind causes a wall of water to be held in place on either side of the Israelites so that they can walk through the sea. When the Egyptians entered the divided sea, the waters collapsed, causing their death. However, there is no account of a divided sea in the poem, just a wall of water that overtakes the Egyptians.

3.3.26 The Egyptian army panics and retreats in the narrative (Exod 14:24), but in the poem, they sink like lead and die in silence (Exod 15:5, 10, 12)

In the narrative, the Egyptians recognize their chariots are stuck in the mud, panic, retreat, confess that YHWH fights for Israel, and try to escape the sea. The poem does not record the Egyptians' panic, their confession of YHWH, or their retreat. Instead, when the Egyptians speak, they boast of killing the Israelites, and when they die, they sink silently to the bottom of the sea.

3.3.27 The Egyptians taunt/boast in the poem (Exod 15:9)

The Egyptians' pursuit in the poem includes a taunt against Israel. In the poem the enemy declares ארדף ("I will pursue"), אשיג ("I will overtake"), אחלק שלל ("I will divide the spoil"), תמלאמו נפשי ("my soul/desire will be filled"), אריק חרבי ("I will draw my sword"), and תורישימו ידי ("my hand will destroy them"). There is no parallel for this rant in the narrative. The series

of proclamations from the enemy indicates that the entire Egyptian army felt confident that they would have victory over the Israelites.

3.3.28 New enemies are fearful in the poem (Exod 15:14-16)

In Exodus 15:14-16, the new enemies of Israel fear YHWH because of his victory over the Egyptians. Exodus 15:14 records the enemies as שמעו עמים ירגזון (“people will hear and be afraid”) and חיל אחז ישבי (“sorrow will seize the inhabitants”). In Exodus 15:15, the enemy will נבהלו (“tremble”) and רעד (“shudder”) and in Exodus 15:16 the enemy will be overcome by אימתה ופחד (“fear and dread”). Each response of fear is based on what YHWH has done to the Egyptians. The narrative does not record the response of the enemies of Israel after the Israelites cross the Sea.

3.3.29 In the narrative, YHWH clogs up the Egyptians’ chariot wheels (Exod 14:25)

In the narrative, the destruction of the chariots includes the disabling of the chariot wheels, which slows the progress of the Egyptian army. This is the second and final time the Egyptians’ pursuit will be stalled. In the poem, YHWH’s destruction of the Israelites is immediate—he throws them into the sea, and they are swallowed up by the earth (Exod 15:4, 10, 12).

3.3.30 The time of the Egyptians’ death is in the narrative (Exod 14:24, 27, 30)

The narrative records that the Egyptians die “in the morning watch,” allowing the Israelites to see all the dead bodies along the seashore. There is no record of the time of death in the poem.

3.3.31 In the narrative, death occurs by drowning (Exod 14:28), but in the poem the earth swallows the Egyptians (Exod 15:12)

The poem presents the Egyptians dying by drowning and by the earth swallowing up the army. If this is understood literally, the earth swallowing could indicate that the Egyptians bodies were hidden from the sight of the Israelites. The meaning of this phrase is discussed further in chapter five (*Meaning of differences in Exodus 15:1-18*). There is no mention of the earth engulfing the Egyptians in the narrative.

3.3.32 The Egyptians lie dead along the seashore in the narrative (Exod 14:30)

In the narrative, YHWH causes the dead Egyptians to lie exposed before the Israelites and any other witnesses of the Egyptians’ defeat at the sea. There is no reference to the dead Egyptian bodies lying along the seashore in the poem.

3.3.33 The Israelites believe in Moses as YHWH's representative in the narrative (Exod 14:31)

In the narrative, the Israelites honor Moses as YHWH's servant after the death of the Egyptians. The poem does not account for the Israelites' belief in Moses or provide any honor to Moses for his role in the Red Sea event.

3.3.34 The Israelites fear YHWH in the narrative (Exod 14:31), but in the poem, the Israelites praise YHWH (Exod 15:1b-18)

In the narrative, the Israelites fear YHWH because He has delivered them from the Egyptians' pursuit. The Israelites celebrate YHWH's victory over the Egyptians and the expected victories over new enemies in the poem.

3.3.35 Mountain of inheritance and sanctuary in the poem (Exod 15:17)

In the poem, YHWH intends to dwell with his people from his holy mountain/sanctuary. This is a new and different promise than in the narrative, which records YHWH's promise to deliver the Israelites from the approaching Egyptians.

3.3.36 YHWH's reign is eternal in the poem (Exod 15:18)

In the poem, the Israelites celebrate YHWH as the one who reigns forever. The confession of YHWH's reign is another example of the Israelites' learning about YHWH through their deliverance from the Egyptians.

3.4 CONCLUSION

The brief review of the thirteen differences and twenty-three omissions confirms that the report of the Red Sea event occurs differently between the narrative and the poem. As stated in the introduction, some differences result from an event occurring in the narrative but not in the poem or vice versa. The next two chapters examine the significance of the differences according to each Stage of the Red Sea event.

CHAPTER FOUR: MEANING OF DIFFERENCES IN EXODUS 13:17–14:31—THE NARRATIVE ACCOUNT OF THE RED SEA EVENT: A CONTEXTUAL METHOD

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter four of this study addresses the third objective: To determine the meaning of the words, themes, and events in the narrative and the third question: What are the meanings of the differences in the narrative? Overall, this study uses a contextual method as modelled by Hallo (1991:24). Hallo's use of a contextual approach posits that the meaning of a biblical theme and event could be determined by comparing and contrasting it to other similar themes and events from the ancient Near East. He states,

It is, then, the balance between comparison and contrast, or their combination in the appropriate proportions, which first provides the overall context for the Biblical text. It justifies the call for a 'contextual approach' where the literary context is defined as 'including the entire Near East milieu to the extent that it can be argued to have had any conceivable impact on the Biblical institution. (Hallo, 1991:24)

For Hallo, this process includes examining both the "horizontal and vertical axis" of a text. The horizontal is "...the geographical, historical, religious, political and literary setting in which it [a biblical text] was created and disseminated," and the "vertical" is the meaning "between the earlier texts that helped inspire it and the later texts that reacted to it" (Hallo, 1980:xxv). However, Hallo does acknowledge that there may be content in the biblical text for which there is no direct parallel to other themes and events in the ancient Near East (Hallo, 1980:3). Therefore, one should not expect an ancient Near Eastern "precedent" for every biblical event (Hallo, 1980:3). Hallo, further notes that there can be "gaps in time" between comparisons.

The fact that we cannot always be sure of the place, the date, or the direction of borrowing does not invalidate either the comparison or contextual approach: modern literary criticism properly investigates literary parallels without necessarily or invariably finding the exact route by which a given idea passed from one author to another. And even the fragmentary nature of the ancient record, the answers cannot always be forthcoming. (Hallo, 1980:27)

In other words, different dates between the biblical text and a comparable theme or event from the ancient Near East should not prohibit comparing and contrasting the examples.

Hallo's approach to contextual analysis has bearing on this investigation in three ways: 1. The study compares and contrasts biblical themes with similar ancient Near Eastern themes and events. 2. The study examines a select group of differences and omitted content from Table 3-1, not each one. 3. There may be gaps of time between the events that are compared.

In this chapter, twenty differences have been selected for analysis. Only those differences for which there seemed to be evidence of a meaningful ancient Near Eastern parallel or a range of meaning of a word that could impact the meaning of the difference will be examined. The differences and omissions are listed according to the stages of the Red Sea event. The differences and omissions are followed by the scripture reference and a number in parenthesis that indicates its position in Table 3-1. This is followed by a translation of the verse which includes the specific difference. (Unless otherwise noted, the translations are from the English Standard Version of the Bible.) Finally, the theme or event is examined in light of its ancient Near Eastern *Sitz im Leben*.

4.2 A CONTEXTUAL ANALYSIS OF DIFFERENCES

4.2.1 Stage one: Exodus from Egypt

4.2.1.1 Pharaoh lets the Israelites go (#1)

Exodus 13:17

ויהי בשלח פרעה את-העם ולא-נחם אלהים דרך ארץ פלשתים כי קרוב הוא כי אמר אלהים פן-ינחם העם בראתם מלחמה ושבו מצרימה	When Pharaoh let the people go, God did not lead them by way of the land of the Philistines, although that was near. For God said, "Lest the people change their minds when they see war and return to Egypt."
--	--

Slaves in the ancient Near East were allowed to go free in the following circumstances: 1. after they repaid their debt; 2. if they displeased their owner; 3. if the master chose to release them; 4. if they finished the task for which they were hired; or 5. after serving for a certain amount of time (Snell, 2021:46; Loprieno, 2012:5; Chirichigno, 2009:30). Snell comments on the condition of the debt-slave in the ancient Near East:

They [slaves] were usually in possession of their first owner (the creditor) until they could be redeemed. Redemption occurred when the debt and any necessary interest were paid. Debt slaves could also be released at the

issuance of a debt-release decree, and some legal systems placed limits on the amount of time a person could remain in debt slavery. (Snell, 2021:191)

This means “debt-slaves” had at least two paths to regain their freedom.

Another case of a release of a slave is found in the Hekanakht letters. The Hekanakht letters record the management of the household of Hekanakht, an Egyptian landowner. Hekanakht I lines 13-15 reads,

Now get that housemaid Senen put out of my house—mind you—on whatever day Sihathor reaches you. Look, if she spends a single day in my house, take action! You are the one who lets her do bad to my wife. Look, why should I make it distressful for you? What did she do against (any of) you, you (Merisu) who hate her? (Hekanakht I, 13- 15; trans. Allen, 2002:35)

In the Hekanakht letters the slave is sent away because she displeased her master by causing harm to his wife.

Mendelsohn notes the Code of Hammurabi §117 provides instructions for the release of a slave “in the fourth year” of their service (Mendelsohn, 1946:84). Code of Hammurabi §117 (trans. King, 1998:23) reads, “If anyone fails to meet a claim for debt and sells himself, his wife, his son, and daughter for money or gives them away to forced labor: they shall work for three years in the house of the man who bought them or the proprietor, and in the fourth year they shall be set free.”

People who could not gain their release—but were slaves for life unless their master chose to let them go—were “chattel-servants,” such as prisoners of war, kidnap victims, and, in some cases, concubines (Loprieno, 2012:5, Westbrook, 1998:237; Mendelsohn, 1946:74). Although the Israelites were not enslaved due to war, they were treated as those who did not have the right to release themselves from slavery. For example, Exodus 5:2 records that when Moses requests the Israelites’ release, they are not allowed to go but must continue to serve Pharaoh. For this reason, the Israelites need YHWH to cause their release.

There seems to be at least one valid reason for the release of the Israelites in light of ancient Near Eastern customs. The time of the Israelites’ servitude had come to an end. In Genesis 15:13-14, YHWH told Abraham that the Israelites would spend 400 years in slavery, but he would deliver his people out of bondage. In Exodus 3:8-10, YHWH declares that he had come to deliver the Israelites and lead them to their inheritance. In Exodus 13:19, the completion of the Israelites’ service is affirmed when Moses goes to retrieve Joseph’s bones—Joseph’s

bones were not to be removed until YHWH's visitation to deliver the Israelites out of Egypt. Unlike servants in Babylon, who served their master for three years before being sent away in the fourth year, the Israelites had served four hundred years—the time set by their God, YHWH.

It is noteworthy that one of the parallels, displeasing the master, may not apply in this case. Pharaoh feared the Israelites because they were a large group. However, the Israelites prior to and during their enslavement never cause a rebellion or destruction to the land. It is YHWH who destroys the land (Exod 10:13-14). The announcement that the Israelites have been sent away seems to convey that YHWH kept his promise and that (at least in the custom of the ancient Near East) the time of enslavement had ended.

4.2.1.2 Philistia (a place to avoid), Sukkoth, Etham, Pi-Hahiroth, Migdol, and Baal Zephon (#2)

Exodus 13:20

ויסעו מסכת ויחנו באתם בקצה המדבר And they moved on from Succoth and encamped at Etham, on the edge of the wilderness.

Exodus 14:2

דבר אל־בני ישראל וישבו ויחנו לפני פי החירת בין מגדל ובין הים לפני בעל צפון נכחו תחנו על־הים Tell the people of Israel to turn back and encamp in front of Pi-hahiroth, between Migdol and the sea, in front of Baal-zephon: you shall encamp facing it, by the sea.

It is fairly common for ancient Near Eastern battle accounts to list sites encountered during a battle. The places may represent conquered territories, remaining enemies, allies, and the routes travelled. For example, the inscription Tiglath Pileser III (744-727): Campaigns against Syria and Palestine lists vassal countries which paid tribute to Tiglath Pileser III (trans. Oppenheim, 2011c:264, lines 150–157). The Kadesh Battle Inscriptions of Ramesses II: Poem and Bulletin contain two different lists of the nations he conquered during the military campaign (Younger, Hallo & Batto 1991:122). Thutmose III's Annals on the battle of Megiddo list the routes travelled toward victory (trans. Lichtheim, 2006:30, lines 1–15). Sargon II's (721-705): The fall of Samaria inscriptions detail the nations that the king overtook (trans. Oppenheim, 2011a:266, lines 23–26).

There is some debate on the modern location of the biblical sites (Hamilton, 2011:214; Hoffmeier, 1996:188; Durham, 1987:185; Clements, 1972:84). However, what is more significant for this study is that none of these sites pose the type of threat that the Israelites

would have encountered by the way of Philistia. Alexander (2017:263) proposes the enemy would be “Egyptian troops stationed in forts established to guard Egypt’s north-eastern border.” Malamat (1997:19) argues,

Some of them [Papyrus Anastasi] reveal the tight control of the Egyptian authorities over their eastern frontier in the last decades of the 13th century. Each and every group or individual, whether Egyptian, or foreign, could neither enter nor leave Egypt without a special permit.

However, Stuart (2006:289) notes the enemy would be the inhabitants of Philistia. In addition, the Israelites’ travelling this route serves YHWH’s purpose by luring the Egyptians out to pursue the Israelites. Thus, like other ancient Near Eastern battle accounts, the Red Sea narrative provides a list of the sites the Israelites travelled out of Egypt.

4.2.1.3 YHWH reveals the Israelites will change their mind and turn from war (#4)

Exodus 13:17

ויהי בשלח פרעה את-העם ולא-נחם אלהים דרך ארץ פלשתים כי קרוב הוא כי אמר אלהים פן-ינחם העם בראתם מלחמה וישבו מצרימה	When Pharaoh let the people go, God did not lead them by way of the land of the Philistines, although that was near. For God said, “Lest the people change their minds when they see war and return to Egypt.”
---	--

The Hebrew word נחם occurs in Exodus 13:17 to describe the Israelites’ change of mind/heart. Scholars commonly translate נחם as “grief, comfort, repentance or regret” (Cassuto, 1967:156). נחם is used to express YHWH’s regret/grief when observing the sin of humanity (Gen 6:6; Exod 32:12; 1 Sam 15:11). It is translated as “comfort” for the one who mourns the death of a loved one (Gen 24:67; 37:35) and to describe repentance of making the wrong decision (Judg 21:6). Cassuto (1967:156) adds that there is a play on the root word נחם in Exodus 13:17, “וְלֹא-נָחַםם ... did not lead them (and) פֶּן-יִנָּחֵםם ... lest...repent.” The play on נחם possibly emphasizes why YHWH must lead the people away from war.

It is highly unusual for gods to lead a nation away from war. As noted by Trimm (2017:553), gods in ancient Near Eastern battle accounts fought against each other—to retreat was an obvious sign of weakness. For example, in Thutmose III’s Annals on the battle of Megiddo (trans. Wilson, 1958:177, lines 35-40), the king consults his officials concerning the travel route. The more difficult path is chosen because it preserves the king’s reputation as a warrior. The text reads,

Then messages [were brought in about that wretched enemy, and discussion was continued] of [that] problem on which they had previously spoken. That which was said in the majesty of the Court—life, prosperity, health!—‘I [swear], as Re loves me, as my father Amon favors me, as my [nostrils] are rejuvenated with life and satisfaction, my majesty shall proceed upon this Aruna road! Let him of you who wishes go upon these roads of which you speak, and let him of you who wishes come in the following of my majesty!’ ‘Behold,’ they will say, these enemies whom Re abominates, ‘has his majesty set out on another road because he has become afraid of us?’—so they will speak.

YHWH is not like earthly kings who must develop a strategy for their own victory. His decision to lead the Israelites away from war (because they will turn away) indicates his concern for the Israelites.

4.2.1.4 The Israelites left Egypt equipped/organized for battle (#6)

Exodus 13:18

<p>ויסב אלהים את-העם דרך המדבר ים- סוף וחמשים עלו בני-ישראל מארץ מצרים</p>	<p>But God led the people around by the way of the wilderness toward the Red Sea. And the people of Israel went up out of the land of Egypt equipped for battle.</p>
--	--

Many scholars (Alexander, 2017:264-265; Garrett, 2014:382; Van Seters, 1994:129; McNeil, 1908:81) question whether the word חמשים from the root חמש should be translated as “armed for battle” or as “orderly.” The word חמש “armed for battle” occurs only five times in the OT (Exod 13:18; Josh 1:12, 14; Num 32:17 and Judg 7:11). McNeil (1908:81) argued חמש “appears to describe not the bearing of weapons but the order and arrangement of a body of troops as though divided into five parts.” Van Seters (1994:129) finds the reference to חמש as “armed” problematic. He attributes it to the J source’s proclivity to record geography of the Red Sea event. He states, “Geography is an important aspect of J’s historiography and the itinerary. As a literary form it is often associated with accounts of military activity. This may help to explain why there is a reference to the Israelites’ departure as ‘armed’...a statement that otherwise has no place in the context.” Alexander (2017:264-265) and Garrett (2014:382) argue the translation of חמש as “armed for battle” seems to be at odds with the announcement that the people will retreat when they see war. Alexander (2017:264) states חמש could refer to being “dressed” or “equipped.” But he does not believe it is equipped because חמש “refers to all the Israelites in Exodus 13:18.” In other words, the entire community of Israel (women,

children, etc.) that left Egypt were not dressed in armor for war. Garrett (2014:382) dismisses the possibility of translating חמשי as “armor.” He contends,

This by no means implies that they had military training and, contrary to many translations, it does not state that they were all armed. It means that Moses did not permit them to move across the wilderness in a disorderly manner. In so much as it was in his power, he had them move out in an array that gave them protection against a surprise attack by desert raiders and that also allowed them to proceed in a rapid manner, not in confusion and not getting in each other’s way.

Indeed, for many scholars an orderly departure from Egypt seems to be the correct interpretation of the word חמשים.

If the Israelites were armed for battle, they could have only gained those weapons from the Egyptians (Exod 12:35). The Hebrew word כלי used in Exodus 12:35 to describe the items borrowed by the Israelites can be translated as “article, utensil, vessel, weapon, armor, money” (Brown, Driver, Briggs, 2001:479). Thus, it is possible that some Israelites possessed weapons. However, the haste in which the Israelites left Egypt (Exod 12:33-34) and their fearful disposition (Exod 13:17; 14:10), indicate they are not armed to engage in a battle, rather they leave Egypt orderly.

4.2.1.5 Moses retrieves Joseph’s bones (#7)

Exodus 13:19

ויקח משה את-עצמות יוסף עמו כי השבע השביע את-בני ישראל לאמר פקד יפקד אלהים אתכם והעליתם את-עצמתי מזה אתכם	Moses took the bones of Joseph with him, for Joseph had made the sons of Israel solemnly swear, saying, “God will surely visit you, and you shall carry up my bones with you from here.”
--	--

Exodus 13:19 as noted in chapter 3 show Moses fulfilling Joseph’s request to take his bones out of Egypt when YHWH delivered his people out of Egypt. However, Garrett (2014: 382-383) notes that the Egyptians would not have approved the removal of one’s body from the original burial site. “This act [removing Joseph’s bones] also serves as a repudiation of Egyptian religion, which held that a person’s chance at attaining an afterlife was greatly diminished if his body was removed from his ‘house of eternity,’ his tomb. Egyptian religion would never countenance removing a person’s body from the sacred land of Egypt.” Assmann (2005:13) further notes the importance of the tomb by citing a portion of the “Instructions of Any” from the ancient Egyptian document Papyrus Boulaq 4. (Lichtheim, 2006:135).

Do not leave your house
 Without knowing where you can rest
 Let one know the place you have chosen,
 So that you will be remembered for as long as you are known.
 Place it before you as the path to take,
 while you are mentioned in what you have found.
 Furnish your place in the valley of the dead
 and the 'netherworld' (i.e., sarcophagus chamber) that will shelter
 your corpse. (Assmann, 2005:13)

The "Instructions of Any" include a warning not to leave the place of their burial, but to remain in the place that is a "shelter" for the corpse. But Joseph's bones are removed because it points to the fulfillment of YHWH's promise and indicates that there is a better "shelter" for Joseph's bones—the land of the promised inheritance (Josh 24:32). It may even hint at YHWH's power in the afterlife, as the removal of Joseph's bones does not result in a loss for Joseph, but a gain.

4.2.1.6 Pillar of cloud/angel of God (#8)

Exod 13:21-22

<p>ויהוה הלך לפניהם יומם בעמוד ענן לנחתם הדרך ולילה בעמוד אש להאיר להם ללכת יומם ולילה</p>	<p>And the LORD went before them by day in a pillar of cloud to lead them along the way, and by night in a pillar of fire to give them light, that they might travel by day and by night.</p>
--	--

<p>לא-ימיש עמוד הענן יומם ועמוד האש לילה לפני העם</p>	<p>The pillar of cloud by day and the pillar of fire by night did not depart from before the people.</p>
--	---

Exod 14:19-20

<p>ויסע מלאך האלהים ההלך לפני מחנה ישראל וילך מאחריהם ויסע עמוד הענן מפניהם ויעמד מאחריהם</p>	<p>Then the angel of God who was going before the host of Israel moved and went behind them, and the pillar of cloud moved from before them and stood behind them,</p>
<p>ויבא בין מחנה מצרים ובין מחנה ישראל ויהי הענן והחשך ויאר את-הלילה ולא- קרב זה אל-זה כל-הלילה</p>	<p>coming between the host of Egypt and the host of Israel. And there was the cloud and the darkness. And it lit up the night without one coming near the other all night.</p>

In the Red Sea event, the pillar of cloud and angel of God play the role of the gods in ancient Near Eastern battle accounts, which go ahead of their servants and fight for them in battle. Hamblin (2006:186) describes the mentality of the ancient Near East as it pertains to battles and gods, stating, “Ancient near eastern armies operated in a world in which belief in the supernatural power of the gods was an omnipresent assumption. Battles were fought and won by the will of the gods.” So, whichever group was victorious had the gods fighting for them in battle, and the group that lost was either forsaken by their gods or had weaker gods. In another example, Lambert explains the loss of one king as being due to the gods’ “displeasure.” He contends, “The gods’ show of displeasure with Kaštiliaš by forsaking his cities fits the beginning, for at the conclusion he must be replaced as ruler by the pious Tukulti-Ninurta” (Lambert, 1957-8:41). In other words, since the gods no longer favor King Kaštiliaš, the hearer of the account knows before the story concludes that King Kaštiliaš will lose and be replaced by someone the gods favor: King Tukulti-Ninurta.

The narrative shows that YHWH is with the Israelites. Exodus 13:21-22 reads YHWH went ahead of his people in the pillar of cloud. In Exodus 14:19-20, when the battle arrives, the angel of God and pillar of cloud provide the needed protection for the Israelites to cross the sea. In Exodus 14:25, the Egyptians confess that the Israelites’ God fights against them amid the sea. The inclusion of YHWH in the presence of the pillar of the cloud and as an angel of God perhaps tells the reader that the Israelites are favored and, since they are victorious, the Israelite God is stronger than other gods. Also, the narrative inclusion of YHWH leading his people in the pillar of cloud and angel of God could point to an emphasis on YHWH as the one who delivered the Israelites.

4.2.2 Stage two: Egyptian preparation for the pursuit

4.2.2.1 YHWH hardens Pharaoh and the Egyptians’ hearts (#12)

Exodus 14:4

<p>וחזקתי את-לב-פרעה ורדף אחריהם ואכבדה בפרעה ובכל-חילו וידעו מצרים כי-אני יהוה ויעשו-כן</p>	<p>And I will harden Pharaoh’s heart, and he will pursue them, and I will get glory over Pharaoh and all his host, and the Egyptians shall know that I am the LORD.” And they did so.</p>
--	---

Exodus 14:8

<p>ויחזק יהוה את-לב פרעה מלך מצרים וירדף אחרי בני ישראל ובני ישראל יצאים ביד רמה</p>	<p>And the LORD hardened the heart of Pharaoh king of Egypt, and he pursued the people of Israel while the people of Israel were going out defiantly.</p>
--	---

Exodus 14:17

ואני הנני מחזק את-לב מצרים ויבאו
אחריהם ואכבדה בפרעה ובכל-חילו
ברכבו ובפרשיו

And I will harden the hearts of the Egyptians so that
they shall go in after them, and I will get glory over
Pharaoh and all his host, his chariots, and his
horsemen.

As stated in the overview section, YHWH is the one who hardens Pharaoh and the Egyptians' hearts in order to lure them to the sea where they die. The Hebrew word חזק ("harden") occurs 290 times in the OT. It is used to describe the *worsening* of a famine (Gen 41:56-57; 47:20) or *physical strength or fortification of a building* (Gen 48:2; 2 Kgs 12:12; 22:6). It can refer to one *grabbing* an item or person (Gen 19:16; Exod 4:4, 9:2; 2 Sam 1:11; 1 Kgs 1:50). For example, Exodus 4:4 records Moses *grabbing* the tail of snake that miraculously turns into a rod. Exodus 9:2 describes the Israelites' being *held* and not released by Pharaoh and the Egyptians. 2 Samuel 1:11 records David *grabbing* his garments as he is overcome with grief and in 1 Kings 1:50, Absalom *grabs* the horns of the altar so that his life would be spared. It is also used in the case of a man who *takes hold* of a woman for sexual assault (Deut 22:25; 2 Sam 13:11). חזק can mean to *encourage* to fight in a battle (Deut 3:28; Judg 20:22; 2 Sam 11:25), *encouragement* for a person who feels discouraged (Deut 1:38; 3:28; 1 Sam 30:6), and *encouragement* to obey YHWH's law (2 Chron 31:4; 35:2). חזק occurs twelve times in Exodus with the majority of the uses describing YHWH as the one who hardens Pharaoh and the Egyptian's hearts (Exod 4:21; 9:12; 10:20, 27; 11:10; 14:4, 8, 17), the other occurrences do not specifically record who causes the hardening of Pharaoh or the Egyptians heart (Exod 7:13, 22; 8:19). The repetition of חזק in the Red Sea narrative (Exod 14:4, 8, 17) emphasizes that YHWH's plan is to destroy Pharaoh and the Egyptians. In addition, it reinforces that YHWH has power to carry out his plan. It is not Pharaoh that controls his heart, but YHWH who is Lord over all creation that controls man's heart.

It is well known that the Egyptians believed that the weight of the heart (weighed in the afterlife) revealed whether or not a person committed wicked deeds (Alexander, 2017:164, Hill and Walton, 2009:117, Stuart, 2006:122, and Beale, 1984:132). However, Taylor (2010:209) posits that one not only had to be concerned about the weight of one's heart but also whether the heart would "speak" against the deceased. He states,

The heart might not remain entirely passive during the judgement. As an aspect of the person, it was considered to have human attributes, notably the ability to speak. This clearly posed a threat to the deceased for the heart might reveal to the gods of the judgment hall some facts about its owner's

conduct which would harm his chance of passing the test. Spell 30B of the Book of the Dead was intended to counter this possibility. (Taylor, 2010:209)

Assmann (2005:102) argues similarly, “What the mouth averred, the heart had to confirm, or it would be exposed as lip service, that is, a lie. All depended on the heart not deviating from the mouth, and thus from the speaking ‘I.’”

YHWH controlling Pharaoh’s heart would add to the difficulty of navigating the afterlife. There would be no guarantee that the heart would not testify against Pharaoh. Consequently, the strengthening of the heart points to YHWH’s power extending beyond the Pharaoh’s earthly existence.

4.2.2.2 YHWH desires to gain glory over Pharaoh and the Egyptians (#13)

Exodus 14:4

וּחְזַקְתִּי אֶת-לֵב-פַּרְעֹה וּרְדָף אַחֲרֵיהֶם וְאֶכְבְּדָה בַּפַּרְעֹה וּבְכָל-חֵילוֹ וַיַּדְעוּ מִצְרַיִם כִּי-אֲנִי יְהוָה וַיַּעֲשׂוּ-כֵן	And I will harden Pharaoh’s heart, and he will pursue them, and I will get glory over Pharaoh and all his host, and the Egyptians shall know that I am the LORD.” And they did so.
---	--

Exodus 14:17-18

וְאֲנִי הֲנִי מְחַזֵּק אֶת-לֵב מִצְרַיִם וַיָּבֹאוּ אַחֲרֵיהֶם וְאֶכְבְּדָה בַּפַּרְעֹה וּבְכָל-חֵילוֹ בְּרִכְבוֹ וּבַפָּרָשָׁיו	And I will harden the hearts of the Egyptians so that they shall go in after them, and I will get glory over Pharaoh and all his host, his chariots, and his horsemen.
וַיַּדְעוּ מִצְרַיִם כִּי-אֲנִי יְהוָה בְּהִכְבְּדִי בַּפַּרְעֹה בְּרִכְבוֹ וּבַפָּרָשָׁיו	And the Egyptians shall know that I am the LORD, when I have gotten glory over Pharaoh, his chariots, and his horsemen.”

Exodus 14:4 records the *casus belli* for the battle against the Egyptians is for YHWH to gain glory and honor from Pharaoh and the Egyptians. Apparently, the plagues and the release of the Israelites from Egypt did not result in the Egyptians honoring YHWH.

Some ancient Near Eastern battle accounts include the rationale for the battle. A dispute could be for “retrieval of stolen gods, people or property, to expand one’s territory, or because a treaty between two parties had been broken” (Machinist, 1976:458). Trimm, who notes that there are numerous types of *casus belli*, assigns them to “three overarching categories: defense, protection against chaos, and acquisition” (Trimm, 2017:35). The rationale for the defense category is to preserve the boundaries of a nation and to help allies. Protection

against chaos included “restoring order” by subduing evil, defending the oppressed, and squashing rebellions. The acquisition was for the retrieval and expansion of land (Trimm, 2017:35-52).

Olmstead contends that the reason for Tiglath-Pileser’s military campaigns was to reclaim power lost by his ancestors (Olmstead, 1923:169). Tadmor explains that King Tukulti-Ninurta expanded his empire because, at the beginning of his reign, he was given a royal scepter by the priest of Aššur and commanded to extend his territory (Tadmor, 1999:55-62). Mizrachy contends that the *casus belli* may not always be revealed to the offending party. Still, it informs the offender of the rationale and justification for the battle (Mizrachy, 2012:24-52).

In the narrative, the *casus belli* is not for land, nor primarily for Israel’s protection, but for YHWH’s gain. The inclusion of the *casus belli* shows that YHWH expects all his creation, even the oppressors of his covenant people, to honor and glorify him for his deeds. The *casus belli* provides a historical reason for YHWH’s defeat of the Egyptians after he had caused Pharaoh and the Egyptians to let the Israelites go.

4.2.2.3 Pharaoh is told the Israelites have left Egypt (#14)

Exodus 14:5

ויגד למלך מצרים כי ברח העם ויהפך לבב פרעה ועבדיו אל-העם ויאמרו מה- זאת עשינו כי-שלחנו את-ישראל מעבדנו	When the king of Egypt was told that the people had fled, the mind of Pharaoh and his servants was changed toward the people, and they said, “What is this we have done, that we have let Israel go from serving us?”
--	---

As stated in the overview, there is disagreement as to whether ברח should be read as “to flee” or “to depart.” The reading of “flee” implies that the Israelites escaped Egypt rather than being set free because YHWH compelled Pharaoh to release the Israelites.

The Hebrew word ברח, “to flee,” (Brown, Driver, Briggs, 2001:137) is typically used to describe a person or group of people leaving the presence of another because of some imminent danger, a separation of individuals, bringing items or persons from one location to another, or loss of life (Gen 27:43; 31:20; Exod 2:15; 1 Sam 19:12, 18; Num 24:11; Prov 19:16; Job 9:25; 14:2).

Some scholars (e.g., Hyatt, 1983:52; Noth, 1962:111) argue the different readings are because the E source describes the event as a “flight” and not as a departure. Noth (1962:112) states, “The fact, however, remains that E spoke of a ‘flight’, and in so doing preserved a trace

at any rate of what is doubtless a very old form of the Exodus tradition.” Jacob (1992:393) presents an alternative view that ברה “to flee” in the Torah shows that the Egyptians lied about the story in order to preserve their reputations amongst the royal court. Jacob further explains that the Torah now “mocked them [the Egyptians] through their report that the Israelites had fled and having them question their own actions.” In other words, the Torah is a witness against the Egyptians that they have given a false report about the Israelites’ deliverance out of Egypt. Vervenne also contends that ברה does not indicate two traditions of the Israelites’ departure (Vervenne, 1996:45). He suggests reading the story according to a flight-pursuit motif. He states that the descriptive ברה is necessary in order to draw attention to the pursuit. Vervenne seems to argue that the narrative tries to create a picture of the danger and does so by using a word such as ברה. He cites the following example in Genesis 31 when Jacob flees Laban. In Genesis 31 Jacob takes his wives, servants, and flock and leaves Jacob without telling him of his departure. Vervenne contends now the reader’s attention (because Jacob is fleeing) is drawn to who he (Jacob) is fleeing from, which is Laban. Consequently, the description of the Israelites as fleeing helps the reader to understand the magnitude of danger from the Egyptian pursuit (Vervenne, 1996:52).

4.2.2.4 Gathering the military for the pursuit of the Israelites (#17)

Exodus 14:6-7

וַיַּאסֶר אֶת-רֶכְבוֹ וְאֶת-עֲמוֹ לָקַח עִמּוֹ So he made ready his chariot and took his army with him,

וַיִּקַּח שֵׁשׁ-מֵאוֹת רֶכֶב בְּחֹר וְכָל רֶכֶב מִצְרַיִם וְשָׁלְשָׁם עַל-כָּלֹּו and took six hundred chosen chariots and all the other chariots of Egypt with officers over all of them.

In the Exodus account of the preparation there is a specific list of men and a reference to a “third man” over the chariots. This is highly unusual because Egyptian chariots did not have three-man chariots, but two (Rainey, 2001:57-75; Littauer & Crouwel, 1996:395-98; Hoffmeier, 1976:43-45; Schulman, 1957:263-71; Säve-Söderbergh, 1951:53-71)

The Hebrew word שלשם can refer to “‘military function or rank’ and ‘a three-man squad’” (Beyse, 1974:125). When used in reference to the military, the officer may be called a captain, indicating a military ranking above that of an officer but below that of a chief (2 Sam 23:7; 1 Kgs 9:22; 1 Chron 11:11); or the officer may be a part of an elite military squad office (Exod 15:4); or the officer may be an administrator and not involved with any battles (2 Kgs 7:2); or the term could refer to a footman positioned next to a chariot (2 Kgs 10:25). Mastin (1979:129-154) argues that the reading of שלשם on the chariot in Exodus 14:7 is perhaps an “officer” who rode on Egyptian chariots in special circumstances. Schley (1990:326), from an analysis

of King David's battles in ancient Israel, argues that שלשם could be "...a special group of warriors whose origin had been that they had fought in three-man squads, and in this fashion carried out special assignments." Thus, the presence of a third man may signal the Egyptians' determination to re-capture the Israelites.

4.2.3 Stage three: The Israelites' recognition of the Egyptian pursuit

4.2.3.1 The Israelites cry out to YHWH and Moses and confess fear of their enemies (#19)

Exodus 14:10-12

<p>ופרעה הקריב וישאו בני-ישראל את- עיניהם והנה מצרים נסע אחריהם וייראו מאד ויצעקו בני-ישראל אל-יהוה</p>	<p>When Pharaoh drew near, the people of Israel lifted up their eyes, and behold, the Egyptians were marching after them, and they feared greatly. And the people of Israel cried out to the LORD.</p>
---	--

<p>ויאמרו אל-משה המבלי אין-קברים במצרים לקחתנו למות במדבר מה-זאת עשית לנו להוציאנו ממצרים</p>	<p>They said to Moses, "Is it because there are no graves in Egypt that you have taken us away to die in the wilderness? What have you done to us in bringing us out of Egypt?"</p>
---	---

<p>הלא-זה הדבר אשר דברנו אליך במצרים לאמר חדל ממנו ונעבדה את-מצרים כי טוב לנו עבד את-מצרים ממתנו במדבר</p>	<p>Is not this what we said to you in Egypt: 'Leave us alone that we may serve the Egyptians'? For it would have been better for us to serve the Egyptians than to die in the wilderness."</p>
--	--

The only record of Israelites' speaking is when they cry out to YHWH and complain about Moses leading them to die. Propp (1999:494) argues that when people cry out it may be a "prayer" not necessarily "panic." Gurtner (2013:333) asserts that this complaint is not merely fear of death, but of death without a proper burial. "The Israelites expressed a real fear that they would die and that their bodies would be exposed to the natural elements of the wilderness, including wild animals." Meyers (2005:115) describes the Israelites' emotion of fear as an appropriate reaction to danger because they were unaware of the Egyptian pursuit. The Israelites likely cry and complain because there is a possibility that they all will die, not because they are concerned about proper burial rights. If they were in Egypt, some may die, but not the entire nation of Israel. After the death of the infants around the time of Moses' birth, there had been no more mass death decrees for the Israelites—even during all the plagues, Pharaoh never turned to his people and said to kill all the Israelites.

4.2.4 Stage four: The opening of the Sea

4.2.4.1 YHWH speaks to Moses (#9)

Exodus 14:1

וידבר יהוה אל-משה לאמר Then the LORD said to Moses

Exodus 14:15

ויאמר יהוה אל-משה מה-תצעק אלי The LORD said to Moses, "Why do you cry to me? Tell
דבר אל-בני-ישראל ויסעו the people of Israel to go forward.

Exodus 14:26

ויאמר יהוה אל-משה נטה את-ידך Then the LORD said to Moses, "Stretch out your hand
על-הים וישבו המים על-מצרים על- over the sea, that the water may come back upon the
רכבו ועל-פרשיו Egyptians, upon their chariots, and upon their
horsemen."

The narrative includes three direct divine speeches from YHWH to Moses concerning the route out of Egypt, asking Moses why he is crying out to him and giving instructions to lead the Israelites through the Red Sea. The speeches in the Exodus narrative confirms that it is YHWH who leads Moses to take the Israelites safely out of Egypt.

Ancient Near Eastern battle accounts also provide accounts of a god or gods speaking to the king. For example, the Poetical Stela of Thutmose III records Amun-Re telling the king that he has granted him victory over his enemy. The text reads,

I stretched my own hands out and bound them for you.
I fettered Nubia's Bowmen by ten thousand thousands,
The northerners a hundred thousand captives.
I made your enemies succumb beneath your soles,
So that you crushed the rebels and the traitors.
For I bestowed on you the earth, its length and breadth,
Westerners and easterners are under your command.
(trans. Lichtheim, 2006:36, lines 5-7)

According to the Kadesh Battle Inscriptions of Ramesses II: Bulletin, Ramesses reveals that Amun encourages him to go to battle. The text in part reads,

I came here by the command of your mouth,

O Amun I have not transgressed your command!
 Now though I prayed in the distant land,
 My voice resounded in Southern On.
 I found Amun came when I called to him.
 He gave me his hand and I rejoiced.
 He called from behind as if near by:
 'Forward, I am with you,
 I, your father, my hand is with you,
 I prevail over a hundred thousand men,
 I am lord of victory, lover of valor!
 I found in my heart stout, my breast joy,
 All I did succeeded, I was like Mont.
 (trans. Lichtheim, 2006:66, lines 120-130)

Thus, YHWH speaking with Moses is not unique. Rather, it once again shows that YHWH is with his servant Moses, helping him bring the people out of Egypt.

4.2.4.2 Moses stretches forth his hand with the rod (#21)

Exodus 14:16

<p>ואתה הרם את-מטך ונטה את-ידך על-הים ובקעהו ויבאו בני-ישראל בתוך הים ביבשה</p>	<p>Lift up your staff, and stretch out your hand over the sea and divide it, that the people of Israel may go through the sea on dry ground.</p>
--	--

Exod 14:21

<p>ויט משה את-ידו על-הים ויולך יהוה את- הים ברוח קדים עזה כל-הלילה וישם את- הים לחרבה ויבקעו המים</p>	<p>Then Moses stretched out his hand over the sea, and the LORD drove the sea back by a strong east wind all night and made the sea dry land, and the waters were divided.</p>
---	---

Moses uses an outstretched rod as commanded by YHWH when the Israelites are against the sea. The rod (מטה) occurs in v. 16, but it is just Moses' hand in vv. 21 and 26. Scholars argue that it is likely that the outstretched hand includes the rod in vv. 21 and 26 (Stuart, 2006:338).

In the ancient Near East, a rod or staff could be symbolic of power, authority, or magic, and used for identification. Stuart (2006:138) contends: "In ancient Palestinian-Israelite society, one's staff was an essential personal possession, a means of protection and identification, and even a symbol of one's power." Miller (2011:110) argues, "Rods and scepters (highly ornamented rods) are a ubiquitous symbol of political authority in the ancient Near East. They

serve the same function in the Bible.” Currid (2013:114) states, “Pharaonic sovereignty began at the coronation of the king, when the crook was placed in his hand.” Therefore, it affirmed the authority of the king.

In the Red Sea event, Hyatt (1983:49) contends that the outstretched rod may signal that an event is about to occur. He notes, “Each time Moses raises his rod/staff and extends it, there is a resulting action. This cause-and-effect relationship resembles the process by which the plagues were brought about by YHWH. Lifting of the rod in Exod[us] signifies a miracle.” Hyatt makes a convincing point. In Exodus 7:20 Aaron raises his rod at the command of YHWH over the Nile and the water became like blood. In Exodus 8:6 Aaron stretches forth the rod over the waters of Egypt, resulting in the frog plague. In Exodus 8:17 the outstretched rod of Aaron is a part of the process to initiate the gnat plague. In Exodus 9:22 Moses stretches his rod, resulting in the plague of hail; and it is Moses’ outstretched rod that is a part of the process that leads to the locust plague (Exod 10:12). However, this will be the first time the lifting of the rod signals a possible miracle for the Israelites—all the other examples resulted in punishment against the Egyptians.

4.2.4.3 YHWH sends an east wind to divide the sea (#22)

Exodus 14:21

ויט משה את-ידו על-הים ויולך יהוה את-	Then Moses stretched out his hand over the sea,
הים ברוח קדים עזה כל-הלילה וישם את-	and the LORD drove the sea back by a strong east
הים לחרבה ויבקעו המים	wind all night and made the sea dry land, and the
	waters were divided.

The description of the east wind in the Red Sea event as violent sirocco, which can destroy crops and land and cause sandstorms that impeded travel, has been well documented by multiple scholars (Jacob, 1992:401; Durham, 1987:206; Gispén, 1982:144; Murphy, 1979:154; Cassuto, 1967:167; Kaiser, 1924:227). However, Neumann proposes another purpose for the recording of the direction of the wind. He argues that archaeological evidence shows that sites were constructed in connection to wind directions. Neumann (1977:1053) states,

An inscription attributed to the Assyrian King Sargon II (reigned 721-705 B.C.) relating his residence Dûr-Sargon, which he erected adjacent to Ninevah, says (Unger, 1931, p.124) that the residence was laid out to the four wind directions, the names of the winds ('iltanu,' etc.) being listed. The archaeological excavations show that the rectangular residence was laid out to face the four directions of NW, NE, SE, and SW. Thus, a combination of the finds of the actual direction of the city walls with the names of the winds

in the inscriptions provides a confirmation of the directions of the four principal winds.

In other words, the record of the wind direction provided a map to the physical site (Neumann, 1977:1050-1054).

In the narrative, YHWH opens the sea with an east wind so the Israelites can cross the sea. It is important to note that since YHWH sent the wind, YHWH's power caused the waters to divide. The wind direction, whether it is from the north, west, east, or south (as in the LXX [ἐν ἀνέμῳ νότῳ βιαίῳ] "by a strong southerly wind"), if sent by YHWH, accomplishes YHWH's purpose.

Consequently, the reference to "east" could indicate more than the strength of wind by providing a historical record of the Israelites' location prior to crossing the sea.

The opening of the sea occurs when the Israelites are at a specific position near the sea. This means when the Israelites remember their deliverance, they will not have to speak of an arbitrary site that their descendants could not locate. Also, it provides further evidence that the wind direction confirms the path the Israelites took when they left Egypt.

4.2.5 Stage five: Crossing the Sea

4.2.5.1 Moses leads the people through the sea (#23)

Exodus 14:22

ויבאו בני-ישראל בתוך הים ביבשה והמים להם חומה מימינם ומשמאלם	And the people of Israel went into the midst of the sea on dry ground, the waters being a wall to them on their right hand and on their left.
---	---

Bruckner (2012:131) notes that Moses had a patient response when the Israelites questioned why he brought them out of Egypt to die at the Sea. He states, "Moses' leadership was evident in his patience as he spoke an oracle of salvation for God. He did not defend himself against the accusations and sarcasm. He spoke rather to their fear and uncertainty." Fretheim (2010:157) argues that Moses is remembered for pointing the people towards YHWH's promise of salvation. He contends,

Moses is given a central place as an agent for the saving work of God (14:16, 21) and is given recognition for this in later tradition (Isa. 63:12)... This dual involvement was announced initially by God (3:8, 10), and it is

recognized as such by the people on the far side of the event (14:31)...
Salvation is no less the work of God because God uses human beings (or nonhuman entities such as the wind) as instruments in and through which to work.

Although Moses is given the honor, he is not recognized as a god or as having divine attributes, such as other kings in the ancient Near East who led the armies into battle. The Kadesh Battle Inscriptions of Ramesses II Poem records:

Then the vile Chief of Khati wrote and worshipped my name like that of Re, saying: "You are Seth, Baal in person; the dread of you is a fire in the land of Khatti." He sent his envoy with a letter in his hand (addressed) to the great name of my majesty, greeting the Majesty of the Palace: Re-Harakhti, the Strong-Bull-beloved-of-Maat, the Sovereign who protects his army, mighty on account of his strong arm, rampart of his soldiers on the day of battle. King of Upper and Lower Egypt. (trans. Lichtheim, 2006:71, lines 298-300)

In the Poem, Ramesses II is regarded as one who descends from the gods and is divine. In contrast, Moses does not seem to have any divine abilities. Moses, like the other Israelites, must depend on YHWH for deliverance.

4.2.6 Stage six: Death of the Egyptians

4.2.6.1 YHWH clogs up the Egyptians' chariot wheels (#29)

Exodus 14:25

ויסר את אפן מרכבתיו וינהגהו בכבדת ויאמר	...clogging their chariot wheels so that they
מצרים אנוסה מפני ישראל כי יהוה נלחם להם	drove heavily. And the Egyptians said, "Let us
במצרים	flee from before Israel, for the LORD fights for
	them against the Egyptians."

The chariot and the chariot wheels represented the military might, skill, and wealth of a country. Trimm notes that not every nation had access to military chariots because of the costs (Trimm, 2017:211). Orlin (2007:82), commenting on the expertise needed to build a chariot, states,

Just as with the domestication and training of the horse, there is a special technology required to make a chariot. The maker must know the best kinds of wood to use for the different parts of the apparatus. For example, wheel hubs and spokes require hardwood of different densities. Rims require

flexible straight-grained wood. Beyond this, new designs had to be devised for bridles and bits. The problem of how to hitch the horses to shafts extending from the chariot had to be solved, as well as the problem of how to swivel the axle of a chariot so that a fast turn would not cause an accident.

Consequently, a nation needed financial resources and the expertise to make the type of chariot needed for warfare. Hoffmeier further notes that the Hittites had some of the most powerful chariots because their chariots had eight-spoked wheels, able to bear three men, whereas Egypt typically had six-spoked wheel chariots (Hoffmeier, 1976:43). In addition, the accumulation of chariots brought notoriety to the king/pharaoh. Leuchter (2011:256-68) states, “The Ramesside kings especially promoted themselves through chariot imagery and claims of being master charioteers; the reliefs at Karnak commemorating the battle of Kadesh especially emphasize the chariot skills of Rameses II.”

YHWH's interference with the chariot wheels was not a mere attack on the Egyptian military; it represented YHWH's destruction of the symbol of power, which could not withstand a battle with YHWH. In addition, the specific destruction of the wheels ensured that the chariots would no longer be viable after the waters overtook the Egyptians. In the poem, the chariots go into the sea, but it is not clear if the covering of the chariots with water leads them to be immobile—the destruction of the wheels in the narrative conveys a more certain destruction.

4.2.6.2 Time of the Egyptians' death (#30)

Exodus 14:24

ויהי באשמרת הבקר וישקף יהוה אל- מחנה מצרים בעמוד אש וענן ויהם את מחנה מצרים	And in the morning watch the LORD in the pillar of fire and of cloud looked down on the Egyptian forces and threw the Egyptian forces into a panic.
---	---

Exodus 14:27

ויט משה את-ידו על-הים וישב הים לפנות בקר לאיתנו ומצרים נסים לקראתו וינער יהוה את-מצרים בתוך הים	So Moses stretched out his hand over the sea, and the sea returned to its normal course when the morning appeared. And as the Egyptians fled into it, the LORD threw the Egyptians into the midst of the sea.
--	---

Exodus 14:30

ויושע יהוה ביום ההוא את-ישראל מיד מצרים וירא ישראל את-מצרים מת על-שפת הים Thus the LORD saved Israel that day from the hand of the Egyptians, and Israel saw the Egyptians dead on the seashore.

The death of the Egyptians at “morning watch” is another example of the narrative providing details concerning the death of the Egyptians that are not in the poem. Currid notes the defeat at the morning watch could have Egyptian theological overtones, since Amun-Ra (personified as the sun) rises but does not save the Egyptians (Currid, 2013:127; Trimm, 2017:555). Spalinger notes in the Great Dedicatory Inscription of Ramesses II that Amun-Ra provides life for his servants who enter battle. The text reads,

It was with Amun-Atum in Thebes that he came forth praised in power and might. It was with millions [of] years up to the lifetime of Re in heaven that he (= Amun) rewarded him (= Ramesses) after [he] (= Amun) heard [his requests, he ?] (= Ramesses) was rewarded with eternity and everlastingness.... (trans. Spalinger, 2008:23)

In Exodus 14:28 there is no one to save the Egyptians from death, everyone who entered the sea died. YHWH strips the Egyptians of everything they rely on for power. The Egyptians have no access to their chariots and their god does not save them from destruction.

4.2.7 Stage seven: The punishment of enemies

4.2.7.1 The name Egypt/Egyptian (#11)

The record of the name מצרים “Egypt” or “Egyptian” occurs at each stage of the Red Sea event (Exodus 13:17-18; 14:4, 9-10, 12-13, 17-18, 20, 23, 24-27, 30-31) with no mention of any other enemy (although other enemies await them as they journey out of Egypt). Scholars such as Younger (Younger, Hallo & Batto, 1991:116) and Machinist (1976:46) note that the emphasis on a particular name or place in a battle account can indicate the purpose of the account. For example, Younger (Younger, Hallo & Batto, 1991:116), in his investigation of Shalmaneser III’s Sultantepe tablet “poem” and Kurkh Monolith inscription “prose” argues, “The focus of the poem is also different from the Kurkh Monolith. Its perspective is narrowed to a description of the actual Urartian campaign alone, and a number of the lands and cities mentioned in the Kurkh Monolith are omitted.” Younger concludes that the purpose of emphasizing one campaign was to exalt the deity. In the Exodus narrative the intent is to draw attention to the punishment of one enemy, the Egyptians.

4.2.7.2 The Israelites believe in Moses as YHWH's representative and fear YHWH (#33, 34)

Exodus 14:31

וירא ישראל את-היד הגדלה אשר עשה	Israel saw the great power that the LORD used
יהוה במצרים וייראו העם את-יהוה	against the Egyptians, so the people feared the
ויאמינו ביהוה ובמשה עבדו	LORD, and they believed in the LORD and in his
	servant Moses.

The narrative ends with a confession of faith from the Israelites. Hamilton (2011:231) argues that this shows that YHWH has kept his promise to deliver the Israelites. Cassuto (1967:172) notes it is what the Israelites have seen that causes them to have faith. He states,

Even more so, the further repetition of the words *And Israel saw* at the beginning of v. 31 cannot be considered fortuitous....What Moses had promised the Israelites was fulfilled: they saw the salvation; they saw the Egyptians dead upon the seashore; and they saw *the great hand*—the great work...*which the Lord did against the Egyptians*....Although they had spoken harsh words to Moses in the hour of danger, yet now they realized that they ought to have complete faith in him.

Thus, although the Israelites' belief shows that YHWH kept his promise, it also confirms that (at least up until the Red Sea event) the Israelites still struggled to believe in YHWH or his servant Moses.

4.2.8 Stage eight: Fellowship with YHWH

The differences that occur in stage eight largely reflect the Israelites' experience after they cross the Red Sea, namely, YHWH leads his people with lovingkindness to his sanctuary and the Israelites belong to YHWH. Therefore, the differences in this stage are addressed in the next chapter, *Meaning of differences in the poetic account of Exodus 15:1-18*.

4.3 CONCLUSION

The purpose of this chapter was to determine the meaning of the differences in the narrative. The chapter examined twenty differences from Table 3-1 and determined that the ancient Near Eastern *Sitz im Leben* and the meaning of select Hebrew words provided additional insight into the meaning of the differences. For example, for stage one, Pharaoh's release of the Israelites shows that the Israelite's time of serving Pharaoh had ended, and YHWH kept his promise to deliver his people from bondage. For stage two, YHWH's desire to gain glory

over Pharaoh and the Egyptians is the *casus belli* and points to all his creation glorifying him. For stage three, the Israelites cry out to YHWH and Moses and confess fear of their enemies, showing that they are in a dire situation that merits a desperate cry for YHWH to help his people. For stage four, YHWH sends an east wind to divide the sea in the narrative, showing a specific direction and location for the Israelite's departure. For stage five, Moses' leading the people through the sea is a testament to his leadership. Still, he is not elevated to divine status, showing how YHWH's servants differ from the servants of other ancient Near Eastern gods. For stage six, YHWH clogs up the Egyptians' chariot wheels, representing the destruction of Egyptian power and wealth. Consequently, YHWH's destruction of the wheels indicates that YHWH is more powerful than the Egyptians. For stage seven, the repeated references to Egypt and the Egyptians makes it clear that there is one enemy. The differences for stage eight, fellowship with YHWH, are addressed in the next chapter (*Meaning of differences in the poetic account of Exodus 15:1-18*), to which this study now turns.

CHAPTER FIVE: MEANING OF DIFFERENCES IN EXODUS 15:1-18—THE POETIC ACCOUNT OF THE RED SEA EVENT: A CONTEXTUAL METHOD

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter five continues the analysis of differences between Exodus 13:17–14:31 and Exodus 15:1-18 by addressing the fourth objective—to determine the meaning of different words, themes, and events in the poem—and the fourth question—what are the meanings for the differences in the poem? The approach is the same as the one used to investigate the narrative differences. For each difference, keywords and themes are examined using a contextual analysis. As with the narrative, not every difference will be examined, but only those for which the ancient Near Eastern context could provide a meaningful contribution to understanding the meaning of the difference. Thus, this chapter investigates sixteen differences. The differences are listed according to the stages of the Red Sea event from Table 3-1, followed by texts referencing the difference, the position on the Table in parentheses, and a translation of the verse(s). An examination of the theme or event in light of its ancient Near Eastern *Sitz im Leben* then follows.

Before proceeding, there are three important ways the analysis of Exodus 15:1-18 differs from other studies on the poem. One, this investigation does not present an exegetical or structural analysis of each verse in the poem; many studies have done this sort of investigation but not with the intent of understanding why the poem differs from the narrative (Hamilton, 2011:231; Leuchter, 2011:334; Butts, 2010:168; Bachra, 2002:250). Two, the text does not evaluate the various arguments surrounding the genre of the poem. Many scholars have undertaken investigated the genre, but not with the intent to uncover why meaning and reasons for the differences between the narrative and poem., Cassuto (1967:173) refers to the poem as “a psalm, such as we find in the Psalter, and it may be classified as an Ode of Triumph.” Brenner (2012:36) and Cross (1968:9) refer to the poem as a “victory song,” Clements (1972:90) calls it a thanksgiving psalm, and Coats (1969:7) notes that it is a “praise hymn.” Childs (1974:244) argues, “In sum, the Song does not reflect any one genre in its form which would give the key to its function within the early life of the nation.” Durham (1987:203) argues similarly, “The chief conclusion to be drawn from them [scholar’s arguments of the genre] is that this poem cannot fit a single form.” Three, though this chapter draws attention to parallels between the poem and ancient Near Eastern *Sitzen im Leben* and literature or creation myths, the goal is not to outline how the entire poem is like an ancient Near Eastern battle account or creation myth. Again, other studies have undertaken this sort of investigation (Russell, 2017:110; Ska,

2006:28; Cross and Freedman,1955:231). The aim of this chapter is directly linked to the overall purpose of this study: to understand the reasons why the narrative and poem differ.

5.2 A CONTEXTUAL ANALYSIS OF DIFFERENCES

5.2.1 Stage one: Exodus from Egypt

There are no references in the poem to stage one. This means the poem does not provide any details about Pharaoh releasing the people, the route the Israelites take out of Egypt, the function of the pillar of cloud to provide light and guidance for the Israelites, the ancestral connection to Joseph, or the emotional psyche: the fear when they see war and their confident disposition upon leaving. The poem provides no hint of the danger the Israelites faced as they travelled out of Egypt. Further, one can hardly construct a picture of the Israelites as a people who suffered in bondage to the Egyptians based on the poetic account of the Red Sea event. The omission of this stage is probably one of the strongest hints that the poem's emphasis will not be on the Israelites, but on YHWH's victory at the sea.

5.2.2 Stage two: The Egyptians' preparation for the pursuit of the Israelites

5.2.2.1 The Egyptians taunt/boast of killing the Israelites (#26)

Exodus 15:9

אמר אויב ארדף אשיג	The enemy said, "I will pursue, I will overtake,
אחלק שלל תמלאמו נפשי	I will divide the spoil; my desire shall have its fill of them.
אריק חרבי תוריִשמו ידי	I will draw my sword; my hand shall destroy them."

As mentioned in the overview section of the Egyptian taunt, Exodus 15:9 records a series of boasts from the אויב ("enemy") concerning his intentions towards the Israelites. Although the verse contains a series of verbs in the first person, the confession of the enemy (Pharaoh) likely represents the sentiments of the entire Egyptian army. Many scholars (e.g., Johnstone, 2014:303; Childs, 1974:251) note that the Egyptians' taunt does not express a desire to kill all the Israelites but rather their confidence to recapture them. Johnstone (2014:303) argues,

But the following phrases, "my desire shall have its fill of them" . . . "my hand shall destroy them," with masculine plural pronouns "them," suggest that the primary spoil is the Israelite slaves themselves. The NRSV rendering fits the parallel "I will draw my sword," but "destroy" would be an unusual meaning for the causative of the Hebrew verb [ירש] used in MT (possible parallels

might be found in, e.g., Num 21:32; Deut 9:3). The more usual sense is “dispossess, gain possession of,” hence here “regain possession of” (cf. KJV mg.). The destruction of the fugitive slaves would defeat the object of the pursuit of a valuable workforce (cf. 14.5b).

Although Johnstone argues that “destroy” is not the preferred translation for *ירש* in Exodus 15:9, it should not be ruled out. Numbers 21:31 and Deuteronomy 9:3 each use *ירש* to describe YHWH’s intent to kill, not capture, the Amorites and the sons of Anak. Consequently, the Egyptians’ boast could express a desire to kill at least some Israelites.

Many scholars question how the Israelites know the details of the Egyptians’ boast. There is no reference to direct divine speech in the poem as in the narrative. Durham (1987:207) argues that the Egyptians’ boast may have been the Israelites’ “interpretation” of the Egyptian experience. Stuart (2006:311) contends, “This part of the song recreates the general attitude of the Egyptians.” Childs (1974:251) states, “Here the enemy is quoted in a direct discourse which is a typical poetic device to intensify the threat.” Another possibility is that the taunt was a familiar chant used by the Egyptians as they engaged in war.

A military boasting/taunting of an enemy before a battle was commonly used as psychological warfare to discourage and discredit an opponent. Lamb (2014:111-130) argues that taunts include 1. insults that ridicule an enemy; 2. boasts that exalt the speaker, their country, or their gods; and 3. predictions of a victory by the speaker over the opponent. He further notes that Thutmose III uses a taunt to describe his enemy as “feeble,” predicting the enemy’s failure while comparing his own strength to “bulls” and announcing that he would win the battle. In another example, Lamb describes Ramesses II’s use of a taunt to humiliate and inspire his army. The Kadesh Battle Inscriptions of Ramesses II: Bulletin reads,

I am alone, there’s none with me! My numerous troops have deserted me;
not one of my chariots looks for me; I keep shouting for them, but none of
them heeds my call. I know Amun helps me more than a million troops.
(trans. Lichtheim, 2006:65, line 110)

Ramesses II reminds his army that they are useless in the battle; only Amun responds to the king’s petition. Later in the poem, the military acknowledges their failure and honors Ramesses as one with power like the gods.

The only way to know if a taunt was successful was after a battle. If a military used a taunt to express their intent to destroy an enemy but lost the battle, the taunt would be unsuccessful.

However, if the military used a taunt against an enemy and won, the taunt would prove successful and serve as a further “humiliation and judgment” of the enemy (Auld, 2011:196).

So, although it is not clear how the Israelites know the specifics of the taunt (divinely inspired or laying the words of these taunts in the mouths of the enemies), the taunt failed. Therefore, YHWH proved successful in defeating and humiliating his enemy.

5.2.3 Stage three: The Israelites’ recognition of the Egyptian pursuit

5.2.3.1 The Israelites boast of defeating their future enemies (#19)

Exodus 15:14-16

שמעו עמים ירגזון	The peoples have heard; they tremble;
חיל אחז ישבי פלשת	pangs have seized the inhabitants of Philistia.
אז נבהלו אלופי אדום	Now are the chiefs of Edom dismayed;
אילי מואב יאחזמו רעד	trembling seizes the leaders of Moab;
נמגו כל ישבי כנען	all the inhabitants of Canaan have melted away.
תפל עליהם אימתה ופחד	Terror and dread fall upon them;
בגדל זרועך ידמו כאבן	because of the greatness of your arm, they are still as a stone,
עד-יעבר עמך יהוה	till your people, O LORD, pass by,
עד-יעבר עם-זו קנית	till the people pass by whom you have purchased.

The Israelites boast that their enemies will fear because of YHWH’s deeds (against the Egyptians). The enemies’ fear results in the Israelites’ safely passing through the land. Many scholars question at what point the Israelites make their boast about the defeat of their future enemies. Did the boast occur once they crossed the Red Sea? Was this a boast they sung when crossing the Jordan river, or even later (Alexander, 2017:303; Hamilton, 2011:231; Driver, 1911:130)? The timing debate exists because scholars disagree on how to translate the verbs in Exodus 15:14-16. Alexander (2017:303-4) states,

Whereas almost everything that has been said in the song up to the end of v. 15 looks backwards to what YHWH has done, the final two verses are orientated toward the future. This change in perspective is marked by a transition from predominantly suff. verbs (usually past tense in meaning) in vv. 14–15 to pref. verbs (usually future tense) in vv. 16–17. Unfortunately, this transition from looking backward to looking forward is not reflected

clearly in all the EVV [English versions]; some take vv. 14–15 as future tense (e.g., HCSB; AV; NET; NIV) or vv. 16–17 as past tense (e.g., NRSV).

Although there is no consensus on whether the verbs are past or present—or exactly when the Israelites would have made this boast—it does seem to suggest that at some point after the exodus from Egypt, the Israelites gained faith in YHWH as their defender.

5.2.4 Stage four: The opening of the Sea

5.2.4.1 YHWH stretches forth his hand/arm (#21)

Exodus 15:6

ימינך יהוה נאדרִי בכח Your right hand, O LORD, glorious in power,
ימינך יהוה תרעץ אויב your right hand, O LORD, shatters the enemy.

Exodus 15:16

תפל עליהם אימתה ופחד Terror and dread fall upon them;
בגדל זרועך ידמו כאבן because of the greatness of your arm, they are still as a stone,
עד-יעבר עמך יהוה till your people, O LORD, pass by,
עד-יעבר עם-זו קנית till the people pass by whom you have purchased.

Exodus 15:6 repeats the phrase ימינך יהוה (“Your right hand, O YHWH”) to draw attention to YHWH’s power. Exodus 15:16 reinforces that YHWH is powerful by describing how his reputation impacts their enemies, תפל עליהם אימתה ופחד בגדל זרועך ידמו כאבן (“Terror and dread will fall upon them, by the greatness of your arm they will be like stone”). The enemies do not just experience fear but become like stone. Weitzman (1997:17) contends, “YHWH’s hand in the poem implies that he can save Israel single-handedly, without any help of a military.”

Hoffmeier (1986:380) lists multiple examples from ancient Near Eastern battle accounts which describe the king as having a mighty or strong arm. He argues,

The “Song of the Sea” has been called Israel’s victory or triumph hymn. The language certainly bears this out. So, it would be just as appropriate for Exodus 15 to praise the arm of God as for Thutmose III’s “Poetical Stela” to praise his victorious arm.

Berman (2017:38) states that “At least four of Ramesses II’s sons included it [a description of the arm] within their theophoric names.” Therefore, Pharaohs regarded the arm/hand as representing their power.

The Israelites celebrate YHWH by singing about his strength and power over his enemies. The destruction of the enemies directly benefits the Israelites, who are redeemed and able to pass through the land. Consequently, mentioning YHWH’s hand/arm may signal the Israelites’ recognition that their God fights for them and is greater than other gods.

5.2.4.2 The breath of YHWH’s nostrils moves the sea back (#22)

Exodus 15:8

וברוח אפיך נערמו מים At the blast of your nostrils the waters piled up;
נצבו כמו-נד נולים the floods stood up in a heap;
קפאו תהמת בלב-ים the deeps congealed in the heart of the sea.

Exodus 15:10

נשפת ברוחך כסמו ים You blew with your wind; the sea covered them;
צללו כעופרת במים אדירים they sank like lead in the mighty waters.

Scholars have given widely varying interpretations of the mention of YHWH’s breath. Fretheim (2010:167) understands Exodus 15 as a cosmic battle where YHWH’s breath dominates the waters and overtakes the Egyptians. He states,

It is God as creator who is fundamentally at work here. It is God who heaps up the waters and covers the Egyptians with floods, whose winds blow and whose earth (=underworld?) swallows them up, and who thereby creates a people (the verb in v. 16 is *qanah*; cf. NEB; Deut. 32:6; Ps 74:2; Gen 14:19-22). While the language of chaos may be more passive here than elsewhere, verse 8 is likely understood as a subduing of chaos, in the sense of bringing it under control to be used by YHWH (cf. Ps 18:15—God’s anger is explicit here—a simple reference to wind will not do; 33:7).

Cole (2016:131) argues that YHWH’s breath is a “theological interpretation” of the “east wind” in the narrative account of Exodus 14:1-31. Durham (1987:206) mentions, “The wind that has moved the sea waters out of their channel (cf. 14:21) is described as the wind of YHWH’s anger.” Dozeman (2009:338) asserts that “verses 8 and 10 indicate YHWH’s power over the sea.” Niehaus (2008:40) states that the Egyptians believed their (god-like) Pharaoh could

impart life with his breath. However, in the poetic account of Exodus 15:1-18, the breath of YHWH does not impart life but takes the lives of the Egyptians in the sea. For the Kadesh Battle Inscriptions of Ramesses II: Poem, the text reads, “Look, you spent yesterday killing a hundred thousand, and today you came back and left no heirs. Be not hard in your dealings, victorious king! Peace is better than fighting. Give us breath!” (trans. Lichtheim, 2006:71, lines 310-320).

YHWH’s breath is not just a poetic account of the east wind; it may indicate a judgment against the Egyptians. As noted by Niehaus, YHWH’s breath caused the Egyptians to lose breath, i.e., their life. The loss of breath is further emphasized in the description of the Egyptians’ death; no one speaks when they “sank like lead” into the sea and are “swallowed up by the earth” (Exod 15:10, 12)—they have no breath. Moses and the Israelites do not even mention the wind in connection with them passing through the land, although the wind was necessary for both events.

5.2.5 Stage five: The crossing of the Sea

5.2.5.1 Walls of water (#25)

Exodus 15:8

וּבְרוּחַ אַפִּיךָ נִעְרְמוּ מֵיִם	At the blast of your nostrils the waters piled up;
נִצְבּוּ כִּמוֹ-נֶדַח נְזִלִים	the floods stood up in a heap;
קִפְאוּ תְהֵמַת בְּלִבֵּי-יָם	the deeps congealed in the heart of the sea.

Exodus 15:10

נִשְׁפַת בְּרוּחְךָ כֶּסֶם יָם	You blew with your wind; the sea covered them;
צָלְלוּ כְעוֹפְרַת בַּמַּיִם אֲדִירִים	they sank like lead in the mighty waters.

Many scholars liken the waters that overtook the Egyptians to the Canaanite Baal cycles (e.g., Russell, 2017:111; White, 2016:117-118; Cassuto, 1967:178). Cassuto likens YHWH’s use of the water to destroy the Egyptians to other “myths” of “neighboring peoples.” He states,

The famous Babylonian story about the war of Marduk against Tiamat is but one example of an entire series of similar narratives. Similarly in the Ugaritic texts, it is narrated regarding Baal the god of Heaven that he fought against Mot the god of Sheol and against the latter’s confederates, namely, the Prince of the Sea and the Judge of the River and his other helpers, and he smote them and compelled them to recognize him as king of the world. (Cassuto, 1967:178)

Russell (2017:110-111) argues that Yam (the sea) represents chaos and disorder. Baal is the storm god who brings good to the land through ample produce. Yam is jealous of Baal and opposes his authority. Baal eventually subdues and kills Yam, and order is restored. Russell notes that if the poem is read as an Israelite rendition of order vs. chaos, then YHWH's breath is like Baal, who subdues the sea and causes the waters to overtake the disorderly enemy, the Egyptians. Russell (2017:111) states, "The sea is not a personification of Yamm, but merely a weapon yielded by YHWH against a human threat to God's people." Fretheim (2010:166) has a similar interpretation of the sea, asserting that the Egyptians are "a historical embodiment of chaos threatening to undo God's creation." Meyers (2005:119) contends,

As in other mythologies of the ancient Near East and ancient Greece, the forces of chaos, represented by turbulent waters, are quelled so that order can exist in the created realm. The threat of the Egyptians to the Israelites is assimilated into the wider notion of primordial dangers. The victory of order and the vanquishing of the enemy are epitomized by God's rescue of the Israelites at sea.

However, in the poem, the waters never seem to threaten YHWH. The sea does not respond differently than YHWH intends; instead, it overwhelms the Egyptians. Therefore, using the water may reinforce YHWH's authority over his creation.

5.2.5.2 Moses leads the Israelites in singing to YHWH and the Israelites praise YHWH (#23, #34)

Exodus 15:1

אז ישיר-משה ובני ישראל את- Then Moses and the people of Israel sang this song to
השירה הזאת ליהוה the LORD

The poem extols YHWH for his deeds on behalf of Israel and against their enemies. No part of the poem references any of the actions of Moses or the angel of God. The poem also omits any record of YHWH providing guidance and protection (by stalling the Egyptians) from the pillar of cloud and fire or the angel of God. It is YHWH who receives all the recognition for the victory. Brueggemann (1994:799) states,

Such an introduction is a standard element in Israel's hymnody. This declaration is itself an exuberant act of self-abandonment, wherein one yields oneself to the subject of praise. That is, the introduction effectively

changes the subject of the song from the intention of the singers to the reality of the one praised.

However, in ancient Near Eastern battle accounts, both the king and his god can receive the honor. For example, the “The Great Sphinx Stela of Amenhotep II at Giza” reads:

As ordained by the maker of gods,
[Amun], the most ancient, who crowned him.
He commanded him to conquer all lands without fail,
the Son of Re, Amenhotep, Divine Ruler of On,
Re’s heir [Amun’s son], shining seed,
Divine flesh’s holy egg, of noble mien.
Come from the womb he wore the crown,
Conquered the earth while yet in the egg;
Egypt is his, no one rebels,
In all that Amun’s eye lights up.
The strength of Mont is in his limbs,
In power he equals the son of Nut.

(trans by W. Helk in Lichtheim, 2006:40-41)

In the Obelisk Inscriptions of Queen Hatshepsut: Shaft Inscriptions, the Queen honors the gods and her father, the king. The inscription reads,

Horus: Mighty of *ka*’s: King of Upper and Lower Egypt: *Makare*, beloved of Amen-Re. Her majesty has recorded the name of her father on this enduring monument. Inasmuch as favor was shown to the King of Upper and Lower Egypt. Aakheperkare, by the majesty of his god, accordingly these two great obelisks were erected by her majesty for the first time. (trans. Lichtheim, 2006:26)

On Shalmaneser III’s Sultantepe tablet, the king and his god are honored. Thutmose III’s Gebel Barkal Stela has accounts where the king and the gods receive praise. However, in the Exodus poem, the Israelites only honor YHWH and recognize his deeds, not those of Moses.

The Tetragrammaton (יהוה) is used eleven times in Exodus 15:1b-18. Avishur (1994:107-109), in his work on “Repetitions in Psalm 29, Judges 5 and Exodus 15,” argues that the repetition of the Tetragrammaton indicates that the “psalmist wanted this composition to be used in

religious worship.” Stuart contends that the use of the Tetragrammaton distinguishes YHWH from other gods. He states,

The proper noun Yahweh (“the LORD”) is used here and throughout the song, except when “God” or “god” is used of necessity in the identifying language of vv. 2, 11, because although hymns may certainly be addressed to “God,” the ambiguity of this term in the pluralistic, polytheistic world of the Old Testament yielded the result that “Yahweh” was the name of choice to denote specifically the only true, real God.

Thus, the absence of other participants and the repetition of the name YHWH indicates that YHWH is not like other gods: He does not share his glory. And Moses is not like other leaders: he has no divine powers.

5.2.5.3 The Israelites pass over dry land after the account of the Egyptians’ death (#24)

Exodus 15:16

תפל עליהם אימתה ופחד	Terror and dread fall upon them;
בגדל זרועך ידמו כאבן	because of the greatness of your arm, they are still as a stone,
עד-יעבר עמך יהוה	till your people, O LORD, pass by,
עד-יעבר עם-זו קנית	till the people pass by whom you have purchased.

Many scholars note there is ambiguity in the Israelites’ passing through a divided sea and question whether Exodus 15:16 refers to passing through the Red Sea, Jordan River, or through the land of Canaan (Childs, 1974:244; Propp, 1999:483; Garrett, 2014:400; Utzschneider & Oswald, 2015:325). The reference to passing over in Exodus 15:16 may be a challenge because of the possibility of translating יעבר as future or past tense.

Garrett translates עד-יעבר as “until [they] cross over” and suggests the Israelites’ “passing over” is a journey through the land of Canaan. Stuart (2006:360) prefers to render עד-יעבר as “when [they will] pass over.” He understands the passage as an example of the prophetic future. Cross (Cross and Freedman, 1955:240) mentions,

There can be little doubt that the poet in vs. 16b anticipates the entry into the land of Canaan. The point of view is that of the Israelite host poised on the far side of the Jordan for conquest, or looking toward the consummation of the Conquest, being already engaged in the preliminary phases of it. It is difficult to decide whether the poet actually is in that situation, or has adopted

that perspective, though living at a somewhat later time. The writers are inclined to the latter position.

Utzschneider (Utzschneider & Oswald, 2015:325) states the word עבר (“passing through, go over”) could refer to three crossings: one, the prose account of a miracle at sea; two, the march through the land of Canaan; or three, the crossing of the Jordan.

Although there is some debate on the place and time of the Israelites’ crossing, the repetition of the phrase עדי־עבר seems to draw attention to the fact that YHWH caused the Israelites to pass safely through the land. So, whether one argues that the Israelites are crossing the Red Sea or the Jordan, the text clearly presents the Israelites as passing through the land.

5.2.6 Stage six: The death of the Egyptians

5.2.6.1 The Egyptians sink like lead and die in silence (#26)

Exodus 15:5

תהמת יכסימו The floods covered them;
ירדו במצולת כמו-אבן they went down into the depths like a stone.

Exodus 15:10

נשפת ברוחך כסמו ים You blew with your wind; the sea covered them;
צללו כעופרת במים אדירים they sank like lead in the mighty waters.

Exodus 15:12

נטית ימינך You stretched out your right hand;
תבלעמו ארץ the earth swallowed them.

Exodus 15:5, 10, and 12 provide several different details of the Egyptians’ death, but none of these accounts includes a record of the Egyptians speaking. Berman (2017:49) mentions that the theme of silencing the enemy was “common” in Egyptian battle accounts. He states,

A common trope of Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Dynasty military inscriptions is the claim that the pharaoh causes the enemy troops to cease all of the boastings of their mouths. Thus, in a typical line, the Seti I Karnak War Scene reads, “He causes the princes of Syria to cease all of the boastings of their mouths.” The concern with silencing the enemy’s boastings is a distinctly Egyptian one and is not found in any other cognate military literature.

When the Egyptians die, all of their boasting stops. Surprisingly, the poem does not record the Egyptians' recognition of YHWH or his deeds as they do during the plagues. In Exodus 8:18-19 the Egyptians, after trying unsuccessfully to reproduce the gnat plague, conclude אַצְבַּע אֱלֹהִים הוּא ("this is the finger of God"). After the announcement of the hail plague in Exodus 9:18, the text records in vs. 20, הִירָא אֶת־דְבַר יְהוָה מֵעַבְדֵי פֶרַע ("and Pharaoh's servants feared the word of YHWH"). The Egyptians' response showed they believed YHWH's word. In Exodus 10, Pharaoh acknowledges that YHWH is the God of the Israelites (but not his God) when he asks Moses to petition YHWH to the end of plague of darkness. However, it is not clear if the Egyptians who recognize YHWH are part of the military or other Egyptian leaders who advised the Pharaoh.

5.2.6.2 The earth swallows the Egyptians (#31)

Exodus 15:12

נְטִית יְמִינְךָ You stretched out your right hand;
תְּבַלְעֵמוּ אֶרֶץ the earth swallowed them.

Although this is the first reference in the Bible to the earth swallowing up a group of people, it is not the only account; Numbers 16:30-34; 26:10; Deuteronomy 11:6; and Psalm 106:17 each refer to Korah, Dathan, and Abiram (and their families) being swallowed up by the earth for their rebellion against God and Moses.

As stated in the *Literature Review* (see chapter two above), some scholars note the ambiguity in the description of the "enemy" and argue that this could be a description of a future enemy's death. However, many scholars propose that Exodus 15:12 is an additional reference to the destruction of the Egyptians. Stuart (2006:305) contends the Egyptians are condemned to the "underworld." Utzschneider argues that the earth in Exodus 15:12 represents "the netherworld as a place that devours the living" (Utzschneider & Oswald, 2015:324). Bruckner (2012:139), who offers more of a natural interpretation, posits that the descent is to the muddy parts of the sea. For the Egyptians, death was considered both an "enemy" and the beginning of a new journey through the underworld. The successful navigation through the depths of the earth required everyone to use spells and chants recorded in the Book of the Dead if they are to have an opportunity to live in paradise. Johnston (2002:231) notes,

In death, each individual... become identified with Osiris and be known as 'Osiris NN'. And by the New Kingdom, this was within the grasp of any commoner who had led a good life and knew the correct responses and actions for the journey through the underworld. This latter was assured

through possessing a personalized copy of the Book of the Dead, with its nearly 200 spells against a whole series of dangers.

5.2.7 Stage seven: The punishment of enemies

5.2.7.1 The enemies of Israel are the Philistines, Edomites, Moabites, and the Canaanites (#5)

Exodus 15:14-16

שמעו עמים ירגזון	The peoples have heard; they tremble;
חיל אחז ישבי פלשת	pangs have seized the inhabitants of Philistia.
אז נבהלו אלופי אדום	Now are the chiefs of Edom dismayed;
אילי מואב יאחזמו רעד	trembling seizes the leaders of Moab;
נמגו כל ישבי כנען	all the inhabitants of Canaan have melted away.
תפל עליהם אימתה ופחד	Terror and dread fall upon them;
בגדל זרועך ידמו כאבן	because of the greatness of your arm, they are still as a stone,
עד-יעבר עמך יהוה	till your people, O LORD, pass by,
עד-יעבר עם-זו קנית	till the people pass by whom you have purchased.

Some scholars argue that the list of the Israelites' enemies in Exodus 15:14-16 indicates the route out of Egypt to the promised land (Mackey, 2001:271; Durham, 1987:208; Cassuto, 1967:177). Mackay states, "Moses then describes the reaction of three groups listed in roughly the order in which Israel encountered them as they traveled to Palestine." However, Janzen (2000:185) argues these are just some of the people groups in the land. He states,

Philistia, Edom, Moab, and Canaan are mentioned by name. Although Canaan, as the goal of Israel's march (3:8, etc.), properly stands last, neither the nations named nor their order indicate Israel's precise route. Instead, they are probably a sampling of prominent nations in the area between Egypt and the Promised Land.

Some scholars (e.g., Childs, 1974:244; Johnstone, 2014:306) note that these are the enemies the Israelites faced not only when crossing the Red Sea but also when crossing the Jordan River. Johnstone (2014:306) states, "Because all these peoples on both sides of the Jordan are mentioned, the final clause of v. 16, 'until your people...pass by,' must refer to both Israel's crossing through their territories and its crossing over the Jordan in triumph."

These nations each represent enemies that the Israelites encounter throughout the Old Testament. The list is longer than the narrative possibly to show that the Israelites know of their surroundings either by divine revelation or from Moses. Further, the words of the song (when heard by other nations) confirm that the Israelites are not a fearful group of ex-slaves, but a nation confident in YHWH's ability to defeat all other enemies.

5.2.7.2 New enemies are fearful, Philistia, Edomites, Moabites, Canaanites (#28)

Many scholars have presented what the new enemies' fear means to the poem and the Old Testament (see 5.2.7.1 for translation). Meyers (2005:120) notes, "The idyllic poetry of verses 14-15, in which all those nations cringe in fear, often is used in attempts to date the poem; for some, it idealizes, and for others, it anticipates or reflects Israel's embattled experience in the land." Alexander mentions that the fear does not mean the enemies are defeated. He contends, "v.14 merely states that 'anguish seized' the inhabitants of Philistia; there is no mention of their being defeated" (Alexander, 2017:290). Garrett (2014:407) posits that people fear what they will lose, "Their fear is not a proper fear of God but a fear of losing what they possess—their homes, their pleasures, their land, their lives." Durham (1987:208) contends that the description of fearful enemies is like the emotions of the enemies in the area of Canaan (i.e., "fear and dread") and are a common response from an enemy in "narratives in the conquest and settlement (Num 22:2-6; Josh 2:8-11)." Niehaus (2008:104) asserts that it was common for Assyrian and Babylonian kings to attribute their victory to the gods who had gone before them to terrorize their enemy. For example, in the Poetical Stela of Thutmose III, Amun-Re encourages Thutmose III with the following words,

I established you in my sanctuary, and I performed wonders for you. I gave you valor and strength against all foreign lands, and I put your authority and fear of you in all lands, and dread of you as far as the four supports of heaven... I let the aggressors who come near you become weak, with fearful hearts their bodies trembling I came to let you crush the princes of Palestine.
(trans. Nederhof, 2006:3-6).

The poem's record of the enemies' fear may indicate that YHWH has gone ahead of the Israelites to protect them from future enemies.

5.2.8 Stage eight: Fellowship with YHWH

5.2.8.1 YHWH leads with steadfast love to his holy dwelling, the mountain of inheritance, and sanctuary (#'s 3 & 35)

Exodus 15:13

נחית בחסדך עם-זו גאלת You have led in your steadfast love the people whom you have redeemed;
נהלת בעוזך אל-נוה קדשך you have guided them by your strength to your holy abode.

Exodus 15:17

תבאמו ותטעמו בהר נחלתך You will bring them in and plant them on your own mountain,
מכון לשבתך פעלת יהוה the place, O LORD, which you have made for your abode,
מקדש אדני כוננו ידיך the sanctuary, O Lord, which your hands have established.

The analysis in this stage covers differences 3 and 35 from Table 3-1, because each of these refers to YHWH's presence at a specific place. The word חסד in Exodus 15:13 translates as "lovingkindness, mercy, and steadfast love" and is often used to describe YHWH's covenant relationship with Israel. Propp (1999:532) argues that "*hesed* is an emotional state motivating action." The action of YHWH is "to preserve the Israelites because of his promises to their forefathers." Childs (1974:251) contends that YHWH does great deeds for Israel because he cares for her. However, the LXX uses *δικαιοσύνη σου* ("your righteousness") as a parallel for חסד. Wevers (1990:232) posits, "Exodus uses 'righteousness' as a better parallel to the dative *ἰσχύι σου* of line two." But the use of *δικαιοσύνη σου* ("your righteousness") rather than חסד provides a far less emotional description of YHWH's relationship with the Israelites.

The place YHWH leads with steadfast love is קדשך ("your holy place") in vs. 13, also referred to as בהר נחלתך ("mountain of your inheritance") and מקדש ("sanctuary") in vs. 17. Scholars have various opinions on the actual site of the holy place (or the mountain of inheritance or sanctuary). Garrett (2014:405) draws attention to the site being a place where YHWH dwells. He states, "What is distinctive, however, is that it is God's residence in the land, rather than Israel's, that is in focus here. The land is YHWH's 'inheritance' (נחלה)...Applied to God, the term 'inheritance' means that this place is holy to him forever and the place of his sanctuary." Gispén (1982:151) states that the mountain is "...a symbol of the Promised Land, mountainous Canaan...the entire land had become the sanctuary of the Lord." Propp (1999:543) argues that the mountain represents YHWH's "throne." Wheless (2007:39) notes that the reference to מקדש ("sanctuary") dates the poem to after the time of Moses and refers to King Solomon's

palace. Although there are questions on the location of the place of worship, the record of the construction of a temple to honor the gods after a battle is well attested in ancient Near Eastern battle accounts (Cross, 1968:7). For example, in The Dedication of the Shamash Temple by Yahdun-Lin, King La'um defeats a coalition of kings and then builds a temple to ensure continued favor with the gods. The text reads,

Then he built up the embankment of the Euphrates (in Mari) and erected (there) the temple of his Lord Shamash for his (own) well-being; he made for him (Shamash) a temple of perfect construction in every aspect of craftsmanship, befitting his godhead, and installed him in this magnificent abode. He names this temple: Egirzalanki (which means): 'The temple-which-is-the-pride-of-Heaven-and-Netherworld.' May Shamash, who resides in his temple, grant forever to Yahdun-Lin, who built his temple, his beloved kind, mighty weapon (able) to defeat the enemies, a long and happy rule, and everlasting years of abundance and happiness. (trans. Oppenheim, 2011b:247).

The reference to YHWH leading with lovingkindness to a holy place may indicate that the Israelites recognize YHWH as their God and that YHWH intends to dwell with his people.

5.2.8.2 The Israelites belong to YHWH (#16)

Exodus 15:2

עזי וזמרת יה	The LORD is my strength and my song,
ויהי-לי לישועה	and he has become my salvation;
זה אלי ואנוהו	this is my God, and I will praise him,
אלהי אבי וארממנהו	my father's God, and I will exalt him.

The Israelites' confession is a personal testimony of how each one has experienced YHWH. Also, they proclaim that their God is their father's God, which hints at YHWH's covenant with Abraham.

Anderson (1994:23) states that this confession suggests the Israelites now know "YHWH...as the liberating God rather than the creator." Fretheim (2010:163) argues similarly, noting that the Israelites learn that YHWH is their liberator. However, he refers to YHWH's victory as "a new experience, an experience of *both* God and people as liberator and liberated" (emphasis his).

This is a new moment for God as much as for the people; God has never been such a liberator before. There is here an interresponsiveness of God and people to the reality of each other's experience. And so, just as God out of God's own experience of suffering (3:7) has responded to Israel's experience of oppression, so Israel from the midst of its own experience of freedom responds to God's experience as liberator. (Fretheim, 2010:163).

While Fretheim may categorize this as a new experience for God, it is not an unexpected one on God's part, and it may or may not have been unexpected by Moses. In Genesis 15 and Exodus 3, YHWH promised to deliver the Israelites, and Exodus 15 is a celebration of that victory.

In ancient Near Eastern battle accounts, it is typically the king or military leader, not the land's other inhabitants, who has a direct relationship with the gods. In the Merneptah Stela, it is the king who receives On's favor.

Then spoke the lords of On in behalf of their son,
Merneptah, content with Maat:
"Grant him a lifetime like that of Re,
To avenge those injured by any land;
Egypt has been assigned him as portion,
He owns it forever to protect his people."
(trans. Lichtheim, 2006:76, line 15)

The Israelites' confession in Exodus 15:2 communicates a personal relationship with YHWH, the one who has rescued their community. Consequently, the poem seems to show that all the children of Israel, not just Moses, can receive favor from YHWH.

5.3 CONCLUSION

Chapter five included an investigation of the meaning of differences in the poem using a contextual analysis. This section examined sixteen accounts of differences. For each account, the meaning of the difference pointed to either an acknowledgment of YHWH's power or an emphasis on his relationship with the Israelites. For example, in stage two, the examination of the Egyptian taunt which failed may have indicated that YHWH not only killed the Egyptians but also humiliated them by causing none of their words to come true. In stage three, the Israelites taunt and confidently declare that YHWH would stop all future threats—thus, the Israelites seemed to gain faith in YHWH because of his past deeds. In stage four, using

YHWH's breath to move the waters over the enemy emphasized YHWH's rule over his creation. In stage five, the repetition of "pass over" could emphasize that YHWH led the Israelites safely through the land. In stage six, the Egyptian's death by the earth swallowing them up could point to YHWH condemning the Egyptians in the afterlife. In stage seven, the new enemies' fear possibly meant that YHWH had already gone ahead of the Israelites to defeat their opposition. In stage eight, YHWH leads his people with steadfast love to his Holy place, which could point to his desire to have fellowship with his creation.

The next chapter investigates the reasons for the two different accounts of the Red Sea event by comparing the reasons for the differences between the narrative and poem.

CHAPTER SIX: RATIONALE FOR DIFFERENCES BETWEEN EXODUS 13:17–14:31 AND 15:1-18—A CONTEXTUAL METHOD

6.1 INTRODUCTION

Thus far, this thesis has outlined the differences between the narrative and poem and examined the select differences to determine if the ancient Near Eastern *Sitz im Leben* and literature could shed light on the meaning of the differences. As stated in chapter one, the narrative and poem describe the same event differently. The narrative makes use of participants such as Moses and the pillar of cloud and fire which lead the people out of Egypt, but the poem does not mention Moses or the pillar of cloud and fire leading the people out of Egypt. The narrative details the Israelites' mentality as they leave Egypt; they experience confidence (as they begin to depart), fear (when seeing the Egyptians), doubt (in Moses' leadership), and finally reverence (of YHWH) and belief (in Moses as YHWH's representative). But the poem only tells the reader how the Israelites feel after the Egyptians are defeated, and there is nothing in the poem about how they feel about Moses. Why is this so?

Chapter six addresses objective five—to investigate whether the literary style of the narrative and the poem, such as the use of repetition, indicate reasons for the differences—and question five—what are the reasons for the differences? This chapter uses a contextual analysis of the text to examine if repetitions emphasize themes in the narrative or poem. Such emphases could indicate the reasons for the two different accounts of the Red Sea event. Since repetitions and emphases can extend throughout the narrative and the poem, this analysis will not be limited to observing repetitions within particular stages. Instead, the chapter presents the points of emphasis—such as theme, word, or event—together, comparing the narrative and poem in order to determine whether the poem emphasizes the event differently or omits any reference to a certain theme or themes. All translations in chapter six are the author's, unless otherwise indicated.

The first part of this chapter will address these groupings. Then the chapter concludes by discussing some of the theological themes that arose from the investigation and how these themes could impact the Israelites' understanding of YHWH and his servant Moses.

6.2 POINTS OF EMPHASIS

6.2.1 Group one: Israelites as slaves

The narrative records that the Israelites were slaves or under the authority of Pharaoh and the Egyptians. Exodus 13:17 reads, **וַיְהִי בִשְׁלַח פַּרְעֹה אֶת־הָעָם** (“When Pharaoh sent the people away”). There is repetition of the root **עבד** (“to serve”) in Exodus 14:5 and 12, reinforcing the fact that the Israelites were slaves. Exodus 14:5 records **הָעָם בָּרַח כִּי בָרַח הָעָם** (“And it was reported to the king of Egypt that the people had departed”) and the Egyptians declare **כִּי־שָׁלַחְנוּ אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל מֵעֲבָדֵנוּ** (“for we let the Israelites go from serving us”). The Israelites cry out to Moses in Exodus 14:12 **חֲדַל מִמֶּנּוּ וְנַעֲבֹדָה אֶת־מִצְרַיִם** (“away from us and let us serve the Egyptians”) and **כִּי טוֹב לָנוּ עֲבַד אֶת־מִצְרַיִם מִמָּוֶת בַּמִּדְבָּר** (“for better for us to serve the Egyptians than to die in the wilderness”). Exodus 14:12 shows that the Israelites still perceive themselves to be slaves of Pharaoh. Johnstone (2014:280) notes that the Israelites’ confession to serve Pharaoh “blots out all memory of past Egyptian atrocities (1:8–3:7, 9) and hope of future blessings that YHWH offers (3:8).” In other words, the Israelites’ identifying as slaves to Pharaoh prevent them from embracing their new reality, that YHWH has freed them from their service to the Egyptians. Meyers (2005:114) contends,

Indeed, the psychological verity of their outcry makes it less an indication of their lack of faith in God and in Moses’ abilities as God’s spokesperson than a sign of the natural human anguish involved in accepting an immediate future that is uncertain and seems fraught with danger.

Although, Meyers labels their response “natural human anguish” as opposed to a “lack of faith in God and Moses’ abilities,” it is for those very reasons (“lack of faith in God and in Moses’ abilities”) that they experience “natural human anguish.” The people are afraid because they have yet to understand that YHWH is greater than Pharaoh and the Egyptians and YHWH is able to protect them; neither do they understand the role of Moses as YHWH’s representative.

However, the Israelites’ life as slaves is not emphasized in the poem. Indeed, there is little indication that the Israelites have any connection to the Egyptians. The Israelites seem to forget their identity as a people who belonged to Pharaoh and the Egyptians and embrace their new identity as those who belong to God. In the poem, there is no reference to the name **מִצְרַיִם** (“Egypt/Egyptians”) or the verb **עבד** (“to serve”), and the noun **פַּרְעֹה** (“Pharaoh”) occurs just one time (Exod 15:4). In the narrative, the Israelites were consumed with fear over the approaching Egyptians: they had no hope of being saved. But the poem draws attention to the Israelites’ relationship with YHWH. Exodus 15:2 has **זֶה אֱלֹהֵי** (“he is my God”) and **אֱלֹהֵי אֲבֵי**

("my father's God"). The narrative closes with the following declaration: ויאמינו ביהוה ובמשה עבדו ("and they [the Israelites] believed in YHWH and in his servant Moses"). But the narrative does not record that the Israelites believe that they belong to YHWH. It is the poem that emphasizes the Israelites' relationship with YHWH. Exodus 15:2 also records the Israelites' declaration that YHWH is לישועה ("my salvation"). The Israelites now recognize that their salvation comes from YHWH. This is an important lesson that they did not understand in the narrative, when the Egyptians were in pursuit. Exod 14:13 records Moses declaring to the Israelites אל־תִּירָאוּ הֲתִצְבּוּ וּרְאוּ אֶת־יְשׁוּעַת יְהוָה לָכֵן הַיּוֹם ("Do not fear! Stand! and see the salvation of YHWH which he will do for you today"). Then Exodus 15:16 records the Israelites singing that they have been redeemed/purchased (קניית); "you [YHWH] have purchased"). Although there is no reference in Exodus 15:2 or 15:16 about from whom the Israelites are saved and redeemed, the point is that YHWH does save and redeem, and the people belong to YHWH.

Thus, one of the reasons for the differences between the narrative and the poem is the narrative emphasizes the Israelite identity as slaves to Pharaoh and the Egyptians, and the poem stresses the Israelite relationship with YHWH.

6.2.2 Group two: Location of deliverance

The narrative emphasizes the location of the Israelites as they exit Egypt in Exodus 13:17: ולא־נחם אלהים דרך ארץ פלשתים ("And God did not lead them by way of the Philistia") and in Exodus 13:20: ויסעו מסכת ויחנו באתם בקצה המדבר ("And they departed from Sukkoth and encamped in Etham by the edge of the wilderness"). Then Exodus 14:2 records the Israelites stationed near Pi-Hahiroth, Migdol, and Baal Zephon against the sea. The narrative makes it clear not only that the Israelites left Egypt, but it also identifies sites they encountered along their journey to the sea. YHWH did not need to deliver the Israelites out of Egypt in order to free them from slavery. YHWH proved with the final plague that he could kill a mass amount of people in a single night. However, it was not YHWH's plan for the Israelites to remain in Egypt but to come out of Egypt to their own land. Durham (1987:187) contends that the reasons for the route are "first, to trick and then to defeat Pharaoh, and second, because he [YHWH] was not ready in any case to take his people on to the land he had promised." Durham's second point, that YHWH was not ready is rather peculiar since Exodus 13:17 tells the reader that the people were too fearful to be led on the shorter route through the way of Philistines, not that YHWH was not ready.

However, the poem does not indicate the Israelites' location. It is not clear where the Israelites are when they sing of the Egyptians boast (v. 9), when the Egyptians die (vv. 5, 10, 12), or

when they pass over the land (v. 16). For the poem, the route out of Egypt is not significant, rather the emphasis is on YHWH leading his people to a place where they dwell in his presence. YHWH presence in the poem is represented by his sanctuary, mount of inheritance, and holy place.

6.2.3 Group three: Moses as YHWH's servant leader

The narrative emphasizes Moses' role as the leader of the Israelites. In Exodus 13:19 Moses remembers to gather Joseph's bones. This is the only record in the narrative that YHWH's deliverance of the Israelites is connected to his covenantal promise with Abraham. In Exodus 14:13-14, Moses encourages the Israelites: **כִּי אֲשֶׁר רֵאִיתֶם אֶת־מִצְרַיִם הַיּוֹם לֹא תִסִּיפוּ לִרְאֹתָם** **עוֹד עַד־עוֹלָם** ("For the Egyptians you see today you will never see again"). Davies (2020:252) notes that the prediction of the Egyptians' demise shows that "Moses as Yahweh's servant (v.31) takes responsibility for countering the people's anxiety by once again becoming the mouthpiece for what Yahweh was about to do (cf. 3:16-17; 4:30; 12:23)." Cate (1979:73) contends that the prediction tells of Moses' relationship with YHWH. He states, "Moses confidently predicted that God was going to win a mighty victory over Pharaoh and that after this, Egypt would no longer be a problem to Israel. His faith was based upon his past experience with God and upon God's recent revelation." In Exodus 14:16, 21 Moses obeys YHWH's command to stretch his hand over the sea (which divides, allowing the Israelites to pass through the sea). Then in Exodus 14:31 the Israelites believe in Moses, showing their renewed confidence in YHWH's servant. Moses' role in the narrative cannot be understated: he leads Israel, he obeys YHWH, he declares their enemies will be totally eliminated, and he encourages the Israelites to trust YHWH. The Israelites come to realize that Moses was not an ordinary man, but one who could be trusted as YHWH's representative (Exod 14:31).

In contrast, the poem, aside for the mention of Moses in the title, does not emphasize Moses in the role of leader. The Israelites do not sing about Moses' leading and encouraging them to move forward, seeing the outstretched rod of Moses over the sea, or affirming that he predicted the death of the Egyptians. Hamilton (2011:232) comments on the lack of reference to Moses in the poem and argues, "Although chap. 14 ends by mentioning the people's placing their trust in the Lord *and in Moses*, in chap. 15 Moses does not share the dais with the Lord. This is a song of/by Moses, not a song to/about Moses" (emphasis his). The omission of any recognition of Moses is not because he is not important or was not needed; Moses is just not as important or as needed as his creator, YHWH. Moses and the Israelites understand that the only one who should receive praise and adoration is YHWH. YHWH is the one who leads the Israelites with "lovingkindness, steadfast love" to his holy place, mountain of inheritance,

sanctuary (Exod 15:13, 17). YHWH is the one that uses his breath to move the waters over the enemy, causing them to drown. YHWH defeats future enemies. Janzen (1997:108) notes,

The song concludes in celebration of the royal rule of God, a rule governed by God's "steadfast love" (v. 13), God's *hesed* or "loyalty." This quality of divine loyalty has its roots in the family-kinship religion of the ancestors. That such a God is loyal across so many generations and under so many different circumstances should be enough to move anyone to break out in praise and, in such praise, to experience how song becomes strength and salvation.

The poem records all of Israel, including Moses (Exod 15:1), honoring YHWH for delivering his people from their enemies. The reason for the record of Moses deeds in the narrative was to record the details of how the Israelites are led out of Egypt. But the poem omits Moses because it was not his power that saved Israel, but YHWH's.

6.2.4 Group four: Israelites' response to the Exodus

The narrative presents four descriptions of the Israelites' experience in their departure from Egypt. One, they are fearful: Exodus 13:17 reads, *פְּנֵינָחַם הָעָם בְּרֵאֵתָם מִלַּחְמָה* ("lest the people repent when they see war") and Exodus 14:10 continues, *וַיִּירָאוּ מְאֹד וַיִּצְעֲקוּ בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶל־יְהוָה* ("and they were greatly afraid, and the children of Israel cried out to the LORD"). Two, they are prepared and confident: Exodus 13:18 reads *וַחֲמֹשִׁים עָלוּ בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם* ("and the children of Israel went up from the land of Egypt prepared for battle") and Exodus 14:8, *וַבְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל יָצְאוּ בְּיַד רִמָּה* ("the children of Israel went out in defiance/with a raised hand"). Garrett (2014:385) describes the Israelite's departure as "celebratory, carefree, and even a little cocky." Three, the Israelites obey Moses: After Moses gives the Israelites YHWH's instructions Exodus 14:4 records, *וַיַּעֲשׂוּ־כֵן* ("And they did so"). Four, the Israelites revere YHWH: Exodus 14:31 reports, *וַיִּירָאוּ הָעָם אֶת־יְהוָה* ("And the people feared YHWH"). The narrative informs the reader that although the Israelites look ready for battle, they are not mentally prepared for war, and the only way they come to fear/reverence YHWH is after they see the defeat of the Egyptians. In addition, the narrative shows that there was nothing that the Israelites did to maintain their salvation and explains why they are fearful. The Israelites are wholly dependent on YHWH for their rescue. The presentation of the Israelites in the various ways prevents the Israelites from claiming that they were rescued because they were an obedient, faithful people. It further emphasizes YHWH's unconditional love for Israel. YHWH led Israel out of Egypt in spite of their fear and desire to return to Egypt.

In the poem (as stated in chapter 5), there is no description of the Israelites' coming out of Egypt. Rather the poem emphasizes the Israelites' confidence in YHWH. In Exodus 15:1 the Israelites celebrate YHWH: לֵאמֹר אֲשִׁירָה לַיהוָה כִּי־גָאֵה גָאֵה סוּס וּרְכָבוֹ רָמָה בַיָּם ("Saying, I will sing to YHWH for he has greatly triumphed over the horse, and his rider he has thrown in the sea"). Then in Exodus 15:11 the Israelites, who now understand that YHWH is above all gods, declare, מִי־כַמֶּכָּה בְּאֱלֹהִים יְהוָה ("Who is like you among the gods?"). Stuart (2006:312) comments on Exodus 15:11:

He [YHWH] does regularly and constantly what no human or other being can do so that humans who trust in him and live in right relation to him can rejoice in his power to do what for them would be or seem impossible.

Stuart rightly states that YHWH works in a way so that people may "trust in him." Perhaps if one only read the poetic account of the Red Sea event they might conclude that God has done the "impossible" for Israel because they are in "right relation" with YHWH. However, the narrative account of the Red Sea event reveals that this would be an incorrect assumption about the Israelites' relationship with YHWH.

6.2.5 Group five: Intermediaries to guide the Israelites

YHWH uses intermediaries to represent his presence, show the people how to leave Egypt, and to defend his people. In the narrative, YHWH, the angel of God, and a pillar of a cloud are each described with the verb הלך. Exodus 13:21 literally reads וַיֵּהוּהוּ הַלֵּךְ לְפָנֵיהֶם ("And YHWH walks before them") בעמוד ענן ("in a pillar of cloud") by day and by night with a בעמוד אש ("a pillar of fire") The pillar of cloud and angel of God are הֵלֵךְ לְפָנַי ("walking before") the Israelites, then they move to וַיַּעֲמֵד מֵאַחֲרֵיהֶם ("take a stand behind them") in order to stall the Egyptians. In Exodus 14:24, YHWH looks through בעמוד אש וענן ("a pillar of cloud and fire") at the Egyptians before causing them to panic in the sea. In the narrative, the Israelites rely on intermediaries, such as Moses. Alexander (2017:266) argues,

The concept of God's accompanying the people as they travel is exceptionally important, for the entire book of Exodus moves towards the climax of God's coming to dwell among the Israelites. While the Israelites could not see God directly, his presence with them was clearly visible, both day and night.

Each intermediary was used by YHWH for YHWH's purpose. It is YHWH who shows Moses the way to lead the people out of Egypt (Exod 13:17, 20; 14:2). It is YHWH who causes the

pillars of cloud and fire to provide light for direction out of Egypt (Exod 13:21-22). It is YHWH who sends an angel as his representative to go behind the people so the Israelites can cross the Sea (Exod 14:19). The poem points to the Israelites' recognition that YHWH, not any intermediaries, delivers and leads Israel forward. In Exodus 15:1, YHWH is the actor: ורכבו סוס רמה בים סוס ("the horse and its rider he has thrown in the sea"). For Exodus 15:8, it is רוח אפיך ("the breath of your nostrils") that overtakes and the waters which destroy the enemy (v. 10). Then in Exodus 15:13, YHWH leads the Israelites אל-נוה קדשך ("to your holy place").

6.2.6 Group six: YHWH's silence

After YHWH reveals his will to Moses in the narrative (Exod 13:17; 14:1, 15, 26), YHWH does not speak to Moses in the poem. The poem may not record YHWH speaking to Moses for one or more of the following reasons: 1. YHWH chooses not to speak. 2. YHWH spoke, and it was not recorded because it is time for the Israelites to respond with thanksgiving and praise. 3. The events that YHWH spoke with Moses about, viz., the Israelites' journey out of Egypt and their entrapment against the sea, are not sung about in the poem. Of the three, the second option seems to be the strongest: YHWH does not speak because it is time for the Israelites to honor YHWH and declare YHWH's greatness.

6.2.7 Group seven: YHWH is all-knowing

The narrative emphasizes that YHWH is all-knowing. In Exodus 14:3, YHWH reveals to Moses that Pharaoh thinks the Israelites are נבכים ("wondering/confused") as they exit Egypt. In Exodus 14:4, YHWH tells Moses how Pharaoh will respond to the Israelites' departure: ורדף אחריהם ("And he will pursue after them"). In addition, YHWH tells Moses what to do when they encounter the sea: דבר אל-בני-ישראל ויסעו ("Speak to the Israelites and go forward") and ואתה הרם את-מטך ונטה את-ידיך על-הים ובקעהו ("And you lift your rod and stretch your hand over the sea and divide it"). YHWH knows the enemy's strategy and what the Israelites need to do to come safely out of Egypt. YHWH's knowing once again points to his power. YHWH knows the future and prepares Moses for what he will encounter as he leaves Egypt. In contrast, Pharaoh's knowledge is unhelpful to his people. He incorrectly assumes they are wandering in the wilderness and his pursuit results in the defeat of his army. Davies (2020:239) argues,

The immediate purpose [for the change in route] is that, when Pharaoh hears of it (it is assumed) he will (mis)understand it as a failure of the Israelites to continue their journey into the wilderness which has left them confused about what to do next.

The poem emphasizes not only what YHWH knows but also what the Israelites know about YHWH. For example, Exodus 15:2 reads YHWH is עזי וזמרת ("My strength and song"), Exodus 15:3 proclaims that יהוה איש מלחמה יהוה שמו ("YHWH is a warrior, YHWH is his name") and Exodus 15:17 reports נחלתך תבאמו ותטעמו בהר ("You [YHWH] bring them in and plant them on the mountain of your inheritance"), a place where they will dwell with YHWH (Gispen, 1982:151). The reason for the difference is the narrative emphasizes what YHWH knows, but the poem what the Israelites now know because of YHWH's great deeds.

6.2.8 Group eight: Egyptians honor YHWH

The narrative emphasizes YHWH's obtaining glory from the Egyptians in the following verses: 1. In Exodus 14:4, YHWH states that he will gain glory over Pharaoh and the Egyptians. 2. In Exodus 14:25, the Egyptians retreat and confess that YHWH is the one who fights. Thus, the Egyptians acknowledge they are fighting against YHWH and cannot prevail. 3. In Exodus 14:28, all the Egyptians die, none are saved by their gods, specifically Ra, who rises at daybreak. In the poem, the emphasis is not on the Egyptians giving YHWH glory—they die in silence—but rather the emphasis is on the Israelites' glorifying YHWH. For example, in Exodus 15:1b, the Israelites declare אשירה ליהוה ("I will sing to YHWH"), and they continue with כִּי גאה גאה ("for he has triumphed gloriously"). Exodus 15:2 states ואננהו ("I will praise him") and further וארמנהו ("And I will exalt him"). For Exodus 15:6, YHWH is נאדרי בכח ("majestic in power") and the Israelites declare תרעץ אויב ("you shatter the enemy"). Exodus 15:7 describes YHWH using the phrase וברב גאונך ("greatness of your majesty"), while Exodus 15:11 indicates that he is נאדר בקדש נורא תהלת עשה פלא ("majestic in holiness, awesome in glory, working wonders"). Exodus 15:18 concludes with יהוה ימלך לעלם ועד ("YHWH reigns forever and ever"). Fretheim (2010:164) notes,

Praise as glorification of God harks back to 14:4, 17-18, where God speaks of gaining honor over Pharaoh and his army. But God's gaining honor is not rooted in a divine self-centeredness, as if the glorification of God were a matter of God's basking in the applause of Israel. Thanksgiving to God is not fundamentally a matter of God taking everlasting curtain calls from an eternally grateful people. One gives honor to God, not in response to a command, but because "it is meet and right" so to do.

The narrative and poem each emphasize YHWH as the one who receives glory, the former from the Egyptians, the latter from the Israelites.

6.2.9 Group nine: YHWH has all power

The narrative continues to emphasize YHWH's power over humanity, nature, and his creation. Exodus 14:4, 8 record **פרעה את־לב יהוה ויחזק** ("YHWH hardens Pharaoh's heart") and then v. 17 reads **ואני הנני מחזק את־לב מצרים** ("And I [YHWH] will harden the Egyptians' heart"), showing that YHWH has authority over the mental and emotional will of Pharaoh. There is a bit of irony here as the narrative shows Pharaoh and the Egyptians changing their mind and setting out to recapture the Israelites because that is what they desire to do. But YHWH has another plan: to trap the Egyptians in the sea. Exodus 14:21 describes YHWH's power over the wind: **ויולך יהוה את־הים ברוח קדים** ("And YHWH caused the east wind to come"). The east wind divides the sea, providing access for the Israelites to escape the Egyptian pursuit. In Exodus 14:28, the entire Egyptian army (including horses) dies in the sea. During the plagues, YHWH first showed his power to the Egyptians and the Israelites. YHWH sent hail, which destroyed cattle; he used an east wind to bring a locust plague which destroyed crops; he sent a darkness plague which stopped travel and daily commerce for three days, and he killed all the firstborn Egyptians.

However, the poem features more of YHWH himself fighting against the Egyptians. In Exodus 15:4, he throws the Egyptians into the sea. Then in Exodus 15:4, 5, and 10, YHWH makes the waters overtake the enemy. In Exodus 15:8, YHWH does not cause the east wind to divide a sea, rather the wind comes from his nostrils. In Exodus 15:14-16, future enemies who hear of YHWH's acts are overcome with fear and unable to stop the Israelites. The narrative emphasizes the destruction of one enemy, but the poem points to YHWH's destruction of multiple enemies because the Israelites are travelling through the land.

6.2.10 Group ten: Order of events

There are clear differences in the order of events between the Exodus narrative and the Exodus poem. For example, for the narrative, Pharaoh releases the Israelites (Exod 13:17), YHWH leads the Israelites with the aid of the pillar of cloud and angel of God (Exod 13:21-22), the Israelites reach the sea (Exod 14:16), the sea opens (Exod 14:21), the Israelites march through the sea (Exod 14:22), the Egyptians follow (Exod 14:23), the waters return (Exod 14:27), and the Egyptians die (Exod 14:28). Consequently, the Israelites are free, and the Egyptians are dead. However, in the poem, the emphasis is not on the Israelites' deliverance but on the enemy's death. The poem begins with the announcement that the Egyptians are dead (15:1-2) while the narrative begins with the announcement that the Israelites are free (13:17). The poem provides two descriptions of the Egyptians' death in Exod 15:4 by drowning and in Exod 15:12 by swallowing; the narrative lists only drowning. The

poem mentions the Israelites' passing through the land (Exod 15:16) after it presents the account of the Egyptians' death (Exod 15:4, 12); the narrative presents the Israelites' passing through the sea (Exod 14:22) before the Egyptians' death (Exod 14:28). It seems the emphasis of the Exodus narrative is to tell the deliverance of the Israelites along with the final defeat of the Egyptians. But, for the poem there is more emphasis on the defeat of the Egyptians and other enemies and the recognition of YHWH's divine rule.

6.2.11 Summary

As demonstrated above, the narrative's emphases are different from those of the poem. The narrative emphasizes the Israelites' journey out of Egypt as slaves, Mosaic leadership, the Israelites' emotions (they are confident as they leave Egypt and fearful when they see the Egyptians approaching), YHWH as all-knowing and as one who leads, expects glory, and punishes His enemies. However, the poem draws attention to the Israelites as servants of YHWH; they dwell with YHWH and are confident in YHWH's power. YHWH defeats his enemies, Israel is redeemed, and YHWH is the one who reigns forever. The narrative and poem in Exodus differ because they emphasize different themes and events of the Red Sea event.

But what does all this mean for the Red Sea event? In other words, what can the reasons for the differences tell us about the Israelites' understanding of the Red Sea event? This chapter concludes by presenting the possible theological implications of the Red Sea event for the ancient Israelites.

6.3 THEOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS FOR THE ISRAELITES

This section discusses four theological themes that arise from investigating the reasons for differences between the narrative and the poem. The themes addressed are 1. Remember you were slaves; 2. Moses is YHWH's servant; 3. YHWH is God alone; and 4. Israel needs a Savior.

6.3.1 Theological theme one: Remember you were slaves

It would not be surprising if YHWH told the Israelites to never remember their days in slavery. The Pharaohs oppressed the Israelites with forced labor, beatings, and killing their newborns (Exod 1:12, 13, 22; 5:14, 21). But YHWH tells his people in Exodus 20:2 אֲנִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ אֲשֶׁר הוֹצֵאתִיךָ מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם מִבֵּית עֲבָדִים (“I am YHWH your God who brought you from the land of Egypt, the household of slavery”). Further, the Israelites cannot fully adhere to the commands to keep the Passover/Feast of Unleavened Bread (Exod 12),

the Feast of the Tabernacles (Exod 23:16) or the Sabbath (Exod 20:8-11) without remembering their history in Egypt (Exod 12:2, 20:2).

As the Israelites prepare to leave Egypt, they are given instructions on how to keep the Passover and the importance of the Passover Feast. The Passover Feast includes eating a meal that could be prepared quickly, such as a boiled lamb and unleavened bread. Stuart (2006:247) notes that the observance of the Feast was actually “an act of faith” on the part of the Israelites. He argues,

All aspects of the cooking and eating were designed to minimize time and maximize preparedness for sudden departure. This was an issue of faith: did the families of the Israelites really trust God’s promises for them? If so, were they willing to show that trust by arranging themselves so as to be fully prepared for departure, and by eating what was to be their last meal in Egypt in such a manner as not to impede their ability to gather together and start moving as soon as the command reached them?

The command to keep the Passover Feast each year ensured that the Israelites did not forget that YHWH delivered them out of bondage to Pharaoh and the Egyptians. The second major feast, the Feast of Weeks/Harvest, occurs fifty days after the annual Passover (Exod 23:16; Lev 23:15-16). The Feast of Weeks/Harvest celebrates YHWH for the harvest He provides for his people. Unlike the Passover Feast in Exodus 12, Lev 23:17-19 records that during the Feast of Weeks/Harvest, the Israelites do not eat unleavened bread, but present two loaves of bread with yeast to YHWH; the Israelites do not eat one unblemished lamb, rather they offer seven unblemished lambs to YHWH; instead of the Israelites eating bitter herbs, they present grain offerings and drink offerings to YHWH. The third major feast, the Feast of Tabernacles/Booths occurs on the fifteenth day of the seventh month, after the Israelites have gathered their harvest (Lev 23:34). During the Feast of Tabernacles/Booths the people live in a temporary shelter for seven days to remember that it was YHWH who protected them on their journey out from the land of Egypt. Consequently, each year, at three specific times, the Israelites remember their history as slaves freed by YHWH and YHWH’s provision for his people.

The Israelites also recall their time as slaves in Egypt and YHWH’s victory during the keeping of the Sabbath. The Sabbath, first recorded in Genesis 1 after YHWH creates the heavens and the earth, is expanded further in Exodus 20. The focus of the Sabbath in Exodus 20 is not on the details of YHWH as Creator, but on how his creation honors him by keeping the Sabbath. Exodus 20 records that on the seventh day they are to remember the Sabbath, that

no one in their household—including servants and foreigners—is exempt from keeping the Sabbath. The people are not to work, cook, or clean. It is a day to for Israel to remember her dependence on YHWH. Haynes (2018:189), in his thesis *Reflections of Eden in Deuteronomy's fourth commandment*, analyzes the differences between the account of the Sabbath in Gen 1 and in Exod 20,

Here [Gen 1] YHWH is specifically pictured as “resting.” Yet we know from our analysis of Genesis 1 that this did not mean rest from all labour—it was rest from the labour of creation. This is borne out in human rest as well, suggested in Exod 20:10–11 but then specified in Deut 5:14. Humanity is in need of rest due to the עֲצָבוֹן attendant to humanity’s customary labour after Genesis 3–4...This rest is provided by YHWH to his people in the Sabbath commandment. (Haynes, 2018:189).

In Deuteronomy 5:12-14, the Israelites are commanded to keep the Sabbath, followed by the stipulations for the Sabbath, that neither Israelite nor foreigner are to work. Deuteronomy 5:15 reads זָכַרְתָּ כִּי עֶבֶד (“for remember you were slaves”); YHWH brought them out of Egypt. This is followed by repeating the command to keep the Sabbath. Thus, the Israelites were not to work excessively as they once did in Egypt. Instead, they are to stop their work on the seventh day and give attention to remembering YHWH. In addition, they must allow their servants to stop work in order to honor YHWH. Phillips notes that the book of Deuteronomy connects the Israelites observance of the Sabbath with their history as slaves:

Deuteronomy enunciates what had always been understood, namely that the institution of the Sabbath was directly related to Israel’s slavery in Egypt, where there would have been no regular break in daily routine work. Its creation constituted an assertion of political independence. Israel no longer belonged to Pharaoh to do with as he liked but to Yahweh, upon whom she was dependent. (Phillips, 1973:48).

Eichrodt (1967:297) argues the Sabbath is an example of YHWH’s love for his people. He states,

Even Yahweh’s acts of judgment are subordinate to the purposes of his love; indeed, at bottom they spring from this love, which as Mn’a, jealousy, is bound to bring to nought with fearful punishment any attempt to seduce the object of its choice. Hence, the cultus, especially the Sabbath and the feast of the Passover, forms a continual remembrance of God’s act of love and is meant to lead to the expression of grateful joy.

Finally, Exodus 21-23 shows that the Israelites' identity as slaves impacts their relations with other Israelites and foreigners. For example, Exodus 22:21 reads, "וגר לא־תונה ולא תלחצנו כי־" ("And you will not wrong a stranger and you will not oppress him for you were strangers in the land of Egypt"), and Exodus 23:9 records "וגר לא תלחץ ואתם ידעתם את־נפש הגר כי־גרים הייתם בארץ מצרים" ("And you will not oppress a stranger for you know the life of the stranger for you were strangers in the land of Egypt"). Further, in Deuteronomy 15:15 and Deuteronomy 24, protection for slaves and divorced women, laws for the recently married to have a break from going to war, laws against interest, punishment of the kidnapper, and just treatment of the foreigner are all predicated upon the Israelites' remembrance that they were once slaves in Egypt (Deut 24:18, 22). Nelson (2002:292) notes,

Israel's own experience with slavery is to be paradigmatic for its empathy for distressed groups (cf. v. 22). In Deuteronomy, the expression 'Yahweh redeemed you' (*pādā*, 'bought you free') is virtually a miniature creed with powerful social justice implications (cf. 7:8; 9:26; 13:6 [ET 5]; 15:15; 21:8).

The Israelites must remember their lives as slaves, not as a way to dwell on their hardship and sorrow but rather as a means to bring glory to YHWH.

6.3.2 Theological theme two: Moses is YHWH's servant

Prior to the Red Sea event, the Israelites had to submit to Pharaoh and the Egyptians. Now, they will have to learn how to serve YHWH by following his servant Moses. In the narrative, Moses proved to be a capable leader who was affirmed by the Israelites after they saw the dead Egyptians. And although Moses has a lesser role in the poem, he does teach the Israelites how to respond to YHWH with worship.

As the Israelites journey through the wilderness, Moses' role will become increasingly more important. For example, it is Moses who settles disputes and who gives the Israelites YHWH's law. Moses is the only one who has seen the pattern for the Tabernacle. In Exodus 18:13 the Israelites come to Moses all day and all night because they need guidance on what to do. Stuart (2006:354-355) notes,

Moses asserted that he did not judge on his own but "decides between the parties and informs them of God's decrees and laws." In other words, the legal process involved the revelatory process in this case. That was almost

certainly the reason Moses had felt obligated to do all the judging himself: the answers involved God's own decisions, and Moses understood himself to be the sole conduit for those to the people.

In Exodus 18:24, Moses, following Jethro's advice, establishes a better judicial system to resolve disputes.

In Exodus 20:19, YHWH allows the people to hear his voice, but the people fear they will die and request that only Moses speak to them. The Israelites decide that a personal interaction with YHWH is not something they can endure. Therefore, they turn to Moses as the one to receive the law and explain the law. In Exodus 25:9, YHWH commands Moses to make the Tabernacle and its furnishings **ככל אשר אני מראה אותך** ("according to which I show you"). Consequently, Moses bears the responsibility of knowing the details of how to build and furnish the Tabernacle. Exodus 40:16 confirms that Moses completed the task of building the Tabernacle: **ויהי בחדש הראשון בשנה השנית באחד לחדש הוקם המשכן** ("And it was on the first month in the second year on the first of the month the Tabernacle was lifted up") and then YHWH came down in a cloud that filled the Tabernacle.

The Red Sea event shows that the people need Moses' leadership, but the extent of his leadership is not realized until they begin their journey outside of Egypt.

6.3.3 Theological theme three: YHWH alone is God

The Red Sea event shows that only YHWH caused the Israelites' rescue, and no enemy can withstand YHWH. The narrative emphasizes YHWH leading the Israelites out of Egypt, YHWH knowing all things, and YHWH's power. The poem emphasizes YHWH's defeat of his enemies and YHWH's power and divinity. However, despite the revelation of who YHWH is, the Israelites do not obey YHWH. In Exodus 32:1-6 the Israelites create a false god, worship it, and credit it for bringing them out of Egypt. Exodus 32:4 in part reads, **ויאמרו אלה אלהיך ישראל אשר העלוך מארץ מצרים** ("these are your gods which brought you out of Egypt.")

In Numbers 14, ten of the twelve spies decide the Israelites are not strong enough to defeat their enemy. The ten spies show their lack of faith and understanding that YHWH is the one who causes Israel to be victorious. Only two spies, Joshua and Caleb, understand that their victory is not based on their strength but on YHWH's power. Pressler (2017:99) notes,

Joshua and Caleb remind the people of a fundamental premise of the Israelite theology of war. It was not the number of warriors, their size, or the strength of their fortification that determined the battle's outcome, but the protective presence of their God.

Because of their disobedience and lack of faith, the Israelites stay in the wilderness for forty years. But the delayed entrance does not completely cure the Israelites of their lack of faith. Joshua 18:3 records Joshua telling the people that they have waited too long to possess their inheritance. Judges 1:1-3 records that there are some tribes, specifically, Judah and Simeon, who have yet to drive out the Canaanites from the land YHWH. Thus, although YHWH reveals himself as Israel's deliverer, the Israelites become comfortable with an incomplete victory over the land of Canaan.

6.3.4 Theological theme four: Israel needed a Savior

There is never a moment in the Israelite journey out of Egypt that the Israelites fight for themselves, encourage themselves to trust YHWH, or express any hint that they know how to leave Egypt. The Israelites need YHWH to instruct Moses and need the pillar of cloud and fire to know the direction out of the land (Exod 13:21, 14:1). The Israelites require encouragement to believe that YHWH will fight for them and not allow them to die at the hand of the Egyptians (Exod 14:13,14). Further, the poem shows that the Israelites need Moses to teach them how to glorify YHWH (Exod 15:1). The telling or the singing of the Red Sea event is a reminder of what YHWH did to save his people and destroy his enemies. This is an important lesson for the Israelites—they need(ed) YHWH. As the Israelites move through the wilderness to their land of inheritance, there will be a time when they seem to forget their dependence on YHWH. In Exodus 17 the people are in the desert and thirst for water. Instead of turning to Moses for direction to get water, the people complain again to Moses and conclude that Moses has once again led them to a place where there is no provision, only death. Exodus 17:3 in part reads, למה זה העליתנו ממצרים להמית אתי ואת־בני ואת־מקני בצמא (“Why did you bring us out from the land of Egypt to kill me and my children and my cattle with thirst”). Further in Deuteronomy 1, Moses reminds the people of their refusal to enter the promised inheritance as YHWH commanded. Specifically, that after they rebelled and YHWH pronounced judgment, they decided to go fight against their enemies. But YHWH commanded Moses to tell the people לא תעלו ולא־תלחמו כי אינני בקרבכם ולא תנגפו לפני איביכם (“Do not go up and do not fight, for I will not be near you, otherwise you will be stricken/defeated before your enemies”). To acquire all that YHWH intends for them, the Israelites need to remember YHWH as the one who grants success.

6.4 CONCLUSION

The goal of this chapter was to determine the reasons for differences between the narrative and poem by comparing groups of differences. For this chapter each reason was listed for the narrative and poem. From the analysis of the reasons for differences, there were at least four theological themes that pointed to something the Israelites needed to know or understand about YHWH and Moses: 1. The Israelites were to remember their time as slaves in order to understand that YHWH is the one that rescues Israel; 2. Moses is used by YHWH to lead and communicate the will of YHWH to the Israelites; 3. YHWH proves that no enemy can withstand his power; and 4. All of Israel depended on YHWH for their salvation and deliverance out of Egypt.

CHAPTER SEVEN: DIFFERENCES IN ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN PARALLEL PROSE AND POETIC BATTLE ACCOUNTS

7.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter addresses the sixth objective—to review whether the reasons for differences in other ancient Near Eastern battle accounts provide rationales for differences in Exodus 13:17-14:31 and 15:1-18—and the sixth research question—do other presentations of ancient Near Eastern battle accounts shed light on the reasons for differences in the Red Sea event?

Although scholars agree that there are differences in general between parallel ancient Near Eastern battle accounts, few list the differences. Aside from Younger (Younger, Hallo & Batto 1991:109), who investigates broad differences among six parallel accounts, Mizrachi (2012:24-52), Berman (2017:17-34), Hurowitz and Westenholz (1990:25-30), Machinist (1976:465), and Lambert (1957-8:38-51) only present the differences between the poetry and prose accounts of a single battle. This chapter starts by surveying key differences noted by scholars, then presents an independent investigation of differences, and concludes with an excursus on how differences among ancient Near Eastern battle accounts shed light on the narrative and poetic accounts of the Red Sea event in Exodus 13:17–14:31 and Exodus 15:1-18, respectively.

The ancient Near Eastern battle accounts referenced in this chapter are as follows: 1. The Tukulti-Ninurta Epic and his Royal Building Inscriptions; 2. Tiglath-Pileser I's Royal Annals and the poetic account, LKA 63 (Literarische Keilschrifttexte aus Aššur [Assyrian Cuneiform Texts]); 3. The Annals of Thutmose III and the Gebel Barkal and Armant Stelae; and 4. Kadesh Battle Inscriptions of Ramesses II: Poem and Bulletin. These accounts were selected because they present both narrative and poetic accounts of a common battle, and scholars generally recognize one or more of these accounts addressing themes similar to the content presented in Old Testament battle accounts such as Judges 4 and Judges 5 and Exodus 13:17–14:31 and Exodus 15:1-18 (Berman, 2017:35; Grisanti, 2004:169; Patterson, 2004:43; Younger, Hallo & Batto, 1991:135).

7.2 ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN BATTLE ACCOUNTS

7.2.1 The Tukulti-Ninurta Epic and his Royal Building Inscriptions

These two accounts detail the battle between Assyrian King Tukulti-Ninurta I and the Babylonian King Kaštiliaš IV. The Babylonian king is accused of breaking an oath with the

Assyrian king and is therefore punished by the Assyrian king and his gods. Machinist (1976:468) notes that King Kaštiliaš posed significant threats to King Tukulti-Ninurta because they each shared the same goal of territorial expansion. Machinist further states that when Tukulti-Ninurta defeats King Kaštiliaš, “the Kassite dynasty...had been ruling Babylonia for the preceding three centuries.” Perhaps this is the reason Bloch and Peri (2016-17:11-12) posit that King Tukulti-Ninurta’s victory over the Babylonians was “the crowning glory of his military career.”

Scholars have recognized the significance of the Epic because it provides insight into Babylonian literature and culture. Machinist (1976:471) contends,

In a variety of ways, the Epic underscores this cultural shift. First, in its description of the devastation wrought on the south, it emphasizes the plunder of the royal Kassite treasure, especially the transfer of presumably all the major literary collections to the capital at Aššur. The latter would otherwise be quite uncommon to mention in an account of conquest and booty.

The collection of the literature may indicate how the Babylonians, although defeated, maintained some influence upon Assyrian culture. Lambert (1957-8:38) comments further on the importance of the Epic:

This text is the only large-scale Assyrian epic which has come down to us, and must have consisted, when complete, of not less than 700 lines. Historically too it is invaluable as providing an official Assyrian version of the events which led to the submission of Babylon for the first time to an Assyrian.

In contrast, the Royal Inscriptions provide an account of multiple Assyrian kings and their battles against their enemies. Thus, the emphasis is not on the victory over King Kaštiliaš but rather on various Assyrian kings’ encounters with the rulers from the Kassite dynasty.

Younger (Younger, Hallo & Batto, 1991:110-112) lists differences and omissions concerning the length of the battle accounts and the role of the king, and the gods as follows:

- “...its length (there are only 22 lines of the longest royal inscriptions dealing with this episode)”
- “The Epic uses a fuller rhetoric...than the stereotypical and less figurative royal inscriptions.”

- “...the Epic primarily gives credit to the gods and Tukulti-Ninurta, the Assyrian soldiers also receive a very positive portrait. In the royal inscriptions, they are basically ignored.”
- “...the royal inscriptions may also have some unique material....Thus, they refer to Tukulti-Ninurta’s treatment of the capture of King Kaštiliaš: ‘I...trode with my feet upon his lordly neck as though it were a footstool. Bound I brought him as a captive into the presence of Aššur, my lord.’”
- “...the Epic not only lists more gods but also describes each one going into battle with his weapon, whereas the royal inscriptions simply list the deities that march in front of the army.”

Younger (Younger, Hallo & Batto, 1991:112) concludes that the purpose for the composition of the Epic was “to justify Tukulti-Ninurta’s Babylonian policy” while the purpose for the Royal Building Inscriptions was “to memorialize the king and reinforce the royal ideology.”

Although Machinist’s essay, “Literature as Politics: The Tukulti-Ninurta Epic and the Bible” (1976) and thesis, *The Epic of Tukulti-Ninurta I: A Study in Middle Assyrian Literature* (1978) do not attempt to outline the differences between the Epic and Royal Inscriptions, he does identify some differences in the essay concerning the description of the king in each document. They are as follows:

- “The hymn [section of the Epic] praises Tukulti-Ninurta’s military prowess, at least in one instance with an image that has no precedent in the earlier Assyrian inscriptions—his dazzling ‘effulgences’ (melammü) of line IA/F 12*” (Machinist, 1976:465).
- In the Epic, “Tukulti-Ninurta is elevated to a divine status” (Machinist, 1976:465).
- The Epic emphasizes the breaking of the treaty by King Kaštiliaš (Machinist, 1976:460).
- Regarding its purpose, Machinist argues that “the Epic is an Assyrian effort to celebrate the results of this Babylonian war and its successful architect, Tukulti-Ninurta. At the same time, because the Epic takes such pains to paint Kaštiliaš as wicked, it clearly is trying to justify the Assyrian victory.” (Machinist, 1976:457).

7.2.2 Tiglath-Pileser I’s Royal Annals and LKA 63

Tiglath-Pileser I’s Annals and LKA 63 each describe Tiglath-Pileser’s success over enemies who gathered to fight against him at Mušru and Qumanu. The accounts show Tiglath-Pileser as unhindered by the opposition’s strategies during the battle. Hurowitz and Westenholz (1990:2) note that the damage to LKA 63 has caused some scholars to question whether LKA

63 is an actual parallel to the Tiglath-Pileser's victories at Muşru and Qumanu. However, Hurowitz and Westenholz (1990:2) state that it is a parallel account of Tiglath-Pileser I's battles at Muşru and Qumanu and that it provides much information about the Assyrian King's military campaigns.

Younger (Younger, Hallo & Batto, 1991:113) presents the following differences concerning order, the reason for battle, the role of gods, and the king's description:

- "The poem...combines all warfare in one stanza (Strophe IV, Stanza I) and all the preparations of both the enemy and the divinities in other sections (Strophes I and II respectively). The prose narration provides a closer sequential development of the campaign."
- "The poem includes...that the *casus belli* was an apparent breach of allegiance."
- "While divine assistance in the actual fighting is only hinted at in the annals, the poem expounds this point with great embellishments through the so called 'vanguard motif' (Rev. 1-11)."
- "LKA 63 cultivates the idea of the divine nature of the king, which is only vaguely presented in the annals into a full-blown apotheosis of Tiglath-Pileser."
- "The annals appear to preserve linearity or sequentially, but the poem replaces these with contiguity and ambiguity."
- "The narrative poem is concerned about the referents' religious interpretation and implications; the prose is interested in temporal ordering and the communication of the redundancy of the ideological message of conquest."

Hurowitz and Westenholz (1990:24-30) point to differences in the name of the enemy, number of battles, description of the enemy, the location and reason for the battle, and the roles of the gods and the king:

- LKA 63 records "a single war." The Annals "record what appears to be two distinct, albeit related episodes" (Hurowitz & Westenholz, 1990:24-25).
- "LKA 63 celebrates but a single war in which the Qumanu are the dominant partner in the enemy confederation. In rev. 13 they alone are mentioned, thus emphasizing their status as the major adversary" (Hurowitz & Westenholz, 1990:25).
- "Furthermore, whereas in the annals the war may be seen as an act of aggression on the part of Tiglath-Pileser, the poetic account clearly portrays the war as an act of self-defense" (Hurowitz & Westenholz, 1990:24-25).

- "...the inclusion of the Habhu and Qutu in LKA 63." They argue the inclusion may be "a poetic expansion of the campaign" (Hurowitz & Westenholz, 1990:24).
- LKA 63 includes the "casus belli was an apparent alleged breach of allegiance" (Hurowitz & Westenholz, 1990:26).
- "LKA 63 has considerably more theological detail than do the parallel accounts in the royal inscriptions" (Hurowitz & Westenholz, 1990:30).
- "In comparison to the annals, the author of the poetic recital waxes enthusiastic in his description of divine involvement in the war" (Hurowitz & Westenholz, 1990:30).
- "Divine assistance in the actual fighting is only hinted at in the annals, whereas LKA 63 elaborates [on] this point" (Hurowitz & Westenholz, 1990:30).

Hurowitz and Westenholz (1990:45) contend that LKA 63 could have been composed "to mark the solemn occasion of its introduction into the sanctuary. It might also have been composed to celebrate the triumphal return of the king from the war, or as part of the victory celebration when the booty was dedicated to the god Aššur."

7.2.3 The Annals of Thutmose III and the Gebel Barkal and Armant Stelae

The Annals and stelae each record King Thutmose III's victories from his eighth campaign at Megiddo and Mitanni. The accounts record King Thutmose subduing groups of enemies by using military strategies and receiving help from his gods. Mizrachy (2012:25) argues,

The Annals Inscription of Thutmose III purports to be the most authoritative source of information for the eighth campaign. Engraved on the walls surrounding the Holy of Holies in the heart of Karnak Temple, it lists Thutmose's campaigns in the course of his first twenty years of sole regime (years 23-42).

Younger (Younger, Hallo & Batto, 1991:120) presents differences in the role of the gods, the military, route of battle, and description of the king. They are as follows:

- "The Gebel Barkal Stela emphasizes the role of Amun-Re in Thutmose's victory far more than the other texts."
- "The Gebel Barkal Stela simply generalizes the enemy as the 'foremost of all foreign lands...being 300 chiefs at the head of his army' (1234.11)—the Armant Stela is even less precise 'all countries'!--; but the 'Annals' identify him as that wretched enemy of Kadesh."

- “The Annals describe in detail the movements of Thutmose prior to the battle at Megiddo, in particular his consultation with his officers on which road to take.”
- “The poetic accounts heighten the praise of the king through hyperbole...and their use of the Pw-Lied (a song describing the power, splendor, and/or the beneficence of the king).”

Mizrachy (2012:30) lists differences in the description of the battle scene and the reason for battle:

- “The Annals Inscription furnishes general statements about violent encounters, amounting to the attacking and destroying of towns and villages in the territory of Mitanni...In contrast to the laconic reference in the Annals Inscription to the havoc cast upon inhabited settlements, the acts of destruction attained broader attention in the Gebel Barkal stela and Armant stela. Both stelae stress the amount of violence this action had brought, including setting fires and destruction of the economic hinterland up to the total eradication of settlements.”
- “We hear about a confrontation with an armed body of undefined extent headed by the ruler of Mitanni.” But “the arrival of Thutmose III at the Euphrates in the eighth campaign is defined in the Gebel Barkal stela as a retaliation against the ruler of Mitanni for a former provocation instigated by him”.
- “The Gebel Barkal stela provides us with further allusion to a large-scale confrontation in the battlefield between the Egyptian army and a considerable armed force of Mitanni.”

7.2.4 The Kadesh Battle Inscriptions of Ramesses II: Poem and Bulletin

The Poem and the Bulletin depict Ramesses’ battle against the Hittites at Kadesh. The battle presents Ramesses as leading the way to victory, despite the setbacks of his military and an attempted ruse by the enemy. Berman (2017:20) notes that each of these accounts are placed side-by-side and suggests this is evidence that they were meant to be read together. He (2017:20) further notes: “To date, no example from the cognate literature has been produced that reveals two differing accounts of the same event in juxtaposed fashion.”

Younger (Younger, Hallo & Batto, 1991:122) presents differences in the battle scene, the military, the list of enemies, and description of the king. For some of the differences, Younger includes in parenthesis the location, whether it be on the Poem (P) or Bulletin (B), and the line number where one can locate the content. They are as follows (Younger, Hallo & Batto, 1991:122-124):

- The Poem includes the route to the battle and the duration of the battle (Younger, Hallo & Batto, 1991:122-123).
- The Poem has Ramesses' prayer (Younger, Hallo & Batto, 1991:122).
- The Poem records "a letter asking for peace from the Hittites" (Younger, Hallo & Batto, 1991:122).
- The Bulletin includes the "Ramesses' humiliation at a Hittite ruse" (Younger, Hallo & Batto, 1991:124).
- The Bulletin describes the "capture of the Hittite spies with their confession of the actual location of the Hittite army" (Younger, Hallo & Batto, 1991:122).
- "The Poem names the four divisions of Pharaoh's army, giving their locations at the beginning of the conflict (P 59-63), but the Bulletin simply speaks of his 'army'" (Younger, Hallo & Batto, 1991:122).
- The Poem provides more detail of "number" and "order" of Hittite allies (Younger, Hallo & Batto, 1991:122-123).
- "The Egyptian army seems to be farther away from the Pharaoh in the Poem" (Younger, Hallo & Batto, 1991:123).
- "The Poem's emotional rhetoric emphasizes the praise of Ramesses and his god more than the Bulletin" (Younger, Hallo & Batto, 1991:123):

Younger (Younger, Hallo & Batto, 1991:123) argues that "Ramesses' prayer to Amun" shows that "one of the Poem's purposes was religious." He does not present the purpose for the Bulletin.

Berman (2017:21-22) lists differences in the role of the gods, military strategy, the route and number of battles, the description of the king and his military, the enemy, and battle scene. Berman, like Younger, sometimes presents the location of the content using P for Poem and B for the Bulletin (Berman, 2017:21):

- "The Poem celebrates the role of Amun....The Bulletin nowhere mentions Amun (save for the implicit reference in the theophoric name Ramesses II Meriamun). No credit is given to the gods whatever, and the victory over the Hittites is ascribed entirely to Ramesses's valor and courage" (Berman, 2017:21).
- There is no mention of the Hittite ruse in the Poem. Berman notes, "This extended episode comprises the first 75 of the Bulletin's 100 lines" (Berman, 2017:21).
- The Poem records "the procession of Ramesses's troops northward (P 28-91). It reports in great detail three successive battle scenes (P 128-167; 205-23; 277-94), while the Bulletin reports only one" (Berman, 2017:21).

- In the Poem, Ramesses reprimands his troops. The military honors him with “an extended hymn of praise (P 239-50)” (Berman, 2017:21).
- In the Poem “the Hittite king sued for peace (P 295-320)...it tells of the King’s victorious march southward, home to Egypt (P 332-43)” (Berman, 2017:21).
- The Poem and Bulletin present different allies (Berman, 2017:21).
- “The Bulletin reports that when the Hittites surprise the Egyptian troops, they attack and ‘surround His Majesty’s subordinates who were by his side’ (B 83). The Poem, however, reports (P 75) that after the Hittites attacked the Pre division, scouts arrived from the scene of the Hittite route and reported this to the pharaoh on the north of the town of Kadesh” (Berman, 2017:21).
- “Some four-fifths of the Poem is verse, while only about a quarter of the Bulletin is verse. The Poem routinely alternates between first-person and third-person narration...the Bulletin is nearly entirely reported in the third person” (Berman, 2017:21).
- “The Bulletin refers to the Hittite king, and the Hittites generally, as the ‘fallen one(s) of Hatti’...some thirteen times total. Of the eleven references to the Hittites by name in the Poem, this appellation appears only twice” (Berman, 2017:21).

7.2.5 Summary

This section provided a list of the differences between select ancient Near Eastern battle accounts by various scholars. The differences centered mainly on the king’s description, the role of the gods, military strategy, and the enemy’s response, with a lesser emphasis on differences in chronology and structure. The list of differences showed that the same battle could be recorded in different ways and that those differences could refer to the actions of specific persons or groups in the battle account.

The next section builds on the scholarly overview by presenting an independent investigation of differences of these ancient Near Eastern battle accounts and listing them according to the most common groups of differences, as noted in the scholarly review.

7.3 MOST COMMON DIFFERENCES BY GROUP

This section assembles and examines the most common ways that parallel accounts differed in the ancient Near East, namely 1. the role of the king in the battle scene; 2. how the military responds to the battle; 3. the enemy’s defeat; 4. the actions of the gods in the battle; and 5. the chronology of the battle account.

Before proceeding, this thesis presents the key for the symbols used in Machinist's translation of the Tukulti-Ninurta Epic and in Lichtheim's translation of the Kadesh Battle Inscriptions of Ramesses II: Poem and Bulletin and the Annals of Thutmose III. Machinist (1976:3) and Lichtheim (2006:xiv) assign slightly different meanings to some of the symbols, so a presentation of the key is necessary for better understanding of the translation of the texts.

Listed below is the key for Machinist's translation of the Tukulti-Ninurta Epic (Machinist, 1976:3):

- "To indicate the approximate number of missing signs in the various lines of the Epic...square brackets ([]) are positioned appropriately in each line of transliteration and translation."
- "Additionally, the lines of transliteration have x's, one for each missing sign, or, where less certain, a notation of roughly the signs lost."
- "Signs accidentally added by the ancient scribe but not integral to the text are surrounded by double angled brackets in the transliteration (« »).
- "In turn, signs accidentally omitted by the ancient scribe are inserted in the transliteration and surrounded by single angled brackets (< >)."
- "Lastly, in the translation of the Epic text, uncertain words added for English sense but not in the original Akkadian are enclosed in parentheses."

Machinist (1976:8) also uses the abbreviations "obv" for obverse and "rev" for reverse to describe each side of the cuneiform tablet.

The key for symbols used in Lichtheim's (2006:xiv) translation of Kadesh Battle Inscriptions of Ramesses II: Poem and Bulletin and the Annals of Thutmose III are as follows:

- "([?]) are used instead of question marks to signify doubt."
- "Square brackets [] enclose restorations."
- "Angle brackets < > enclose words omitted by the scribe."
- "Parentheses () enclose additions in the English translations."
- "A row of three dots (...) indicates the omission in the English translation of one or two words."
- "A row of six dots (.....) indicates a longer omission."
- "A row of three dashes (- - -) indicates a short lacuna."
- "In the text, a row of six dashes (- - - - -) indicates a lengthy lacuna"

7.3.1 Role of the king

Ancient Near Eastern Battle accounts provide various descriptions of kings, including: 1. their use of taunts to demoralize the enemy; 2. the king's show of fear or courage; 3. the king's allegiance/faithfulness to another king and his god/gods; 4. the king's expectation of help from his god/gods; and 5. the king's capture of victory spoils.

7.3.1.1 The use of taunts to demoralize the enemy

King Tukulti-Ninurta's taunt of King Kaštiliaš for avoiding the battle is in the Epic, but not the Royal Building Inscriptions. The text reads,

Tukulti-Ninurta ordered []
A messenger to Kaštiliaš for []
'How many days long has [your force] been fleeing []
You are always shifting your army your ver[bal] command []
For which day are you keeping the weapons of bat[tle. ?]
And which of your weapons is waiting for which day [to fight ?].
(trans. Machinist, 1978:107, col. IVA lines 11-16)

Although some of the text is missing, it is evident that King Tukulti-Ninurta intends to describe his opponent as the only one not ready for battle—despite the fact that his weapons are ready to engage in battle.

7.3.1.2 The king's show of fear or courage

The Tukulti-Ninurta Epic describes King Kaštiliaš as running from battle:

[h]e abandoned his royal ornament in... [.]
[] he did [n]ot swallow his morsels .. []
[t]he table was not changed/overtured where he
arose []
[t]he thrones/chairs of his palace, which has been fixed. []
[h]e mounted his chariot (and) insulted/threatened the hord[e (of) .]
[h]e said to his army: I fough[t .]
[t]he King of the Kassites would rush here and there
like.. [.]
[h]e would seek refuge here and there (in) the forests. [] .
(trans. Machinist, 1978:101, col. IIIC Obv lines 9-16)

Again, the king is described as too afraid to fight. The example includes King Kaštiliaš running into a forest to avoid an encounter with King Tukulti-Ninurta. This account is not in the Royal Building Inscriptions.

The Kadesh Battle Inscriptions of Ramesses II: Poem depicts Ramesses' courage by emphasizing the amount of danger he must overcome. He does not just fight the Hittites, but he defeats thousands of men on chariots. The following account is in the Poem, but not the Bulletin:

His majesty proceeded to look about him and found 2,500 chariots ringing him on his way out, of all the fast troops of the Foe from Keshkesh, Irun, Kizzuwadna, Khaleb, Ugarit, Kadesh and Luka, three men to a team acting together. (trans. Lichtheim, 2006:64-65 lines 82-87)

If the chariots were two- or three-man chariots, this would indicate that Ramesses encountered 5,000 to 7,500 men at this point in the battle.

Ramesses rebukes his military in the Poem for not helping him to fight. The text reads:

You are lucky to be alive at all.
You who took the air while I was alone!
Did you not know it in your hearts:
I am your rampart of iron!
What will men say when they hear of it,
That you left me alone without a comrade,
That no chief, charioteer, or soldier came,
To lend me a hand while I was fighting?
I crushed a million countries by myself.
(trans. Lichtheim, 2006:70 lines 261-67)

Ramesses does not hold back in shaming his military. The military is not described as being unable to fight, as if occupied by another battle, but unwilling to fight. The recording of this in the Poem would be a continual reminder of the ineptness of the military and the courage of Pharaoh.

In the Thutmose III's Annals on the battle of Megiddo, there is a conversation between the military and Thutmose III in which the military begs Thutmose to avoid the "difficult road" because the enemy has set an ambush along this road. However, Thutmose does not avoid

the “difficult road” but goes out to meet his enemy, and the military is challenged to follow him into the battle. The following dialogue between the military and Thutmose is not on the Gebel Barkal Stela or the Armant Stela but in the Annals:

They said to his majesty: ‘How will it be to go [on] this road which becomes narrow, when it is [reported] that the enemies are waiting there [beyond and they] are numerous? Will not horse go behind [horse] and [soldiers] and people too? Shall our vanguard be fighting while the [rearguard] waits here in Aruna, [and] are unable to fight? There are two (other) roads here. One of the roads is [to our east] and [comes out] at Taanach. The other is on the north side of Djefth so that we come out to the north of Megiddo. May our valiant lord proceed on which ever of [these] seems best to him. Do not make us go on that difficult road! (trans. Lichtheim, 2006:30-31 lines 25-40)

The Annals continue, presenting the king’s response.

I swear, as Re loves me, as my father Amun favors me, as my nostrils are refreshed with life and dominion, my majesty shall proceed on this Aruna road! Let him of you who wishes would go on those roads you spoke of. Let him of you who wishes come in my majesty’s following. Or they will say, those foes whom Re abhors: “Has his majesty gone on another road because he is afraid of us?” (trans. Lichtheim, 2006:31 lines 40-45)

The Gebel Barkal and Armant Stelae merely show Thutmose’s arrival at the location of his enemy. The Gebel Barkal Stela reads, “They were in the valley of Qina” (trans. Nederhof, 2009:7 line 19). The Armant Stela records, “His Majesty entered upon that road, that was very narrow, at the head of his entire army, while all foreign lands were assembled, standing prepared at its mouth [...]” (trans. Nederhof, 2009:4 lines 12-13).

Thutmose III’s Gebel Barkal Stela records the specific number of princes, 300, who prepare to attack King Thutmose (trans. Nederhof, 2009:7 line 19). However, Thutmose III’s Annals on the battle of Megiddo and the Armant Stela do not present the number of princes who battle against Thutmose.

7.3.1.3 The king’s allegiance to another king and his god/gods

Section 7.2.1 noted that one of the differences between the Tukulti-Ninurta Epic and Royal Building Inscriptions was the description of King Kaštiliaš as breaking his oath to King Tukulti-Ninurta. In addition, the Epic accuses King Kaštiliaš of betraying the gods:

[The gods were angry at] the treachery/ies of
the king of the Kassites (committed) by the stan[dard of Šamaš .]
Against the oath-breaker, Kaštiliaš, the gods of heave[n (and) earth decided
to send punishment .]

(trans. Machinist, 1978:63 col. IB lines 32-33)

[] [the ki]ng of the Kassites
neglected the oath.

[] crime, falsehood he perpetrated.

(trans. Machinist, 1978:71, col. IA lines 28-29)

Why, then, since times past has the king of the Kassites
contravened your plan (and) your judgment?

He has not fear[ed] your oath, has transgressed your
command, has schemed falsehood.

He has committed crimes against you, O Šamaš, be my judge.

(trans. Machinist, 1978:77 col. IIA lines 19-21)

But Kaštiliaš, because he had transgressed the command
of the gods, was transformed.

(trans. Machinist, 1978:93 col. IIIA Obv. line 22)

In addition, the Tukulti-Ninurta Epic records King Kaštiliaš's awareness that he has not been
faithful to King Tukulti-Ninurta. This is not in the Royal Annals. The Epic reads,

I did not treat him well earlier; his good plan I
did not accept.

Now (as) I have looked around, the crimes of my land
have become oppressive; (its) sins many

(trans. Machinist, 1978:93 col. IIIA Obv. lines 26-27)

Then,

I put my people into a merciless hand, (into)

Imprisonment [without escape]

To a narrow pit without exit I gathered togeth[er
my land/my people.]

Many are my sins before Samas; [great are my] misdeeds.

Who is the god who would save my people from

d[isaster]?

(trans. Machinist, 1978:95 col. IIIA Obv. lines 35-38)

7.3.1.4 The king's expectation of his god/gods

The Kadesh Battle Inscriptions of Ramesses II: Poem includes a prayer in which he tells the gods about his deeds and describes himself as faithful and thus deserving of the gods' protection. The prayer is not in the Bulletin. The text reads:

I sacrificed to you ten thousand of cattle
And all kinds of sweet-scented herbs.
I did not abstain from any good deed,
So as not to perform it in your court
I built great pylons for you,
Myself I erected their flagstaffs;
I brought you obelisks from Yebu,
It was I who fetched their stones.
I conveyed to you ships from the sea
Shall it be said: 'The gain is small
For him who entrusts himself to your will?'
Do good to him who counts on you.
Then one will serve you with loving heart.
I call to you, my father, Amun.
(trans., Lichtheim, 2006:65 lines 100-110)

7.3.1.5 The king's capture of victory spoils

The Tiglath-Pileser Annals detail the number of territories secured by King Tiglath-Pileser. The text reads: "In all, forty-two lands and their princes from beyond the Lower Zab, a region of distant hills, unto the further side of the Euphrates" (Grayson, 1991:82 col. VI lines 39-42). The number of territories is not in LKA 63.

Thutmose III's Annals on the battle of Megiddo provide a more detailed account of spoils taken from the enemy than the Gebel Barkal Stela. The Armant Stela does not record the list of spoils. The Annals record:

Living prisoners: 340. Hands: 83. Horses: 2,041. Foals: 191. Stallions: 6.
Colts: ---One chariot of that foe worked in gold... One fine chariot of the

prince of [Megiddo], worked in gold [Chariots of the allied princes: 30].
Chariots of his wretched army: 892. (trans. Lichtheim, 2006:33, line 95)

The Gebel Barkal Stela reads in line 10 and 25:

I captured all their people, who were brought as prisoners, their cattle
without limit. And their possessions as well. I took the crops away from them
and tore out their barley. (trans. Nederhof, 2009:4, line 10)

They all went on donkeys since I had taken their horses. I captured their
inhabitants for Egypt and their properties as well. (trans. Nederhof, 2009:9
line 25)

Thutmose III's Annals on the Battle of Megiddo show that the delay in overtaking the enemy
was due to Thutmose III's military collecting the spoils their enemies abandoned, and not
because the enemy was stronger. The text reads,

Now if his majesty's troops had not set their hearts to plundering the
possessions of the enemies, they would have [captured] Megiddo at this
moment when the wretched foe of Kadesh and the wretched foe of this town
were being pulled up hurriedly so as to admit them into their town. (trans.
Lichtheim, 2006: 32 lines 85-90)

7.3.1.6 Unique/Uncategorized

The Kadesh Battle Inscriptions of Ramesses II: Poem records the only reference of him
rewarding his shield-bearer and horses for their faithfulness to him in battle:

On Victory-in-Thebes, Mut-is-content, my great horses;
It was they whom I found supporting me
When I alone fought many lands.
They shall henceforth be fed in my presence,
Whenever I reside in my palace;
It was they whom I found in the midst of battle,
and charioteer me and, my shield-bearer,
And my household butlers who were at my side,
My witnesses in combat, behold, I found them!
(trans. Lichtheim, 2006:70 lines 260-270)

7.3.1.7 Summary

The kings as recorded in ancient Near Eastern battle accounts play critical roles in their battles. The king speaks confidently that the battle can be won, and he fights for his people. A king who delayed a fight (as in the case of King Kaštiliaš) or avoided a fight (as suggested by Thutmose's army) would be viewed as a coward. Further, a sign of the greatness of one's victory was in the collection of spoils. The king boasts of capturing all the enemies' spoils. There may also be some unique presentations of the king, such as Ramesses' care for his shield-bearer and horses. However, the details of the king's contribution to a battle, or accolades for the king may not be included in a parallel battle account.

7.3.2 **Military**

Ancient Near East battle accounts show the military as 1. extending honor and obedience to the king, and 2. offering strategy to the king.

7.3.2.1 Honor and obedience to the king

The Tukulti-Ninurta Epic includes the military praises of King Tukulti-Ninurta for his power. The declaration of the military is not on the Royal Building Inscriptions. The text reads,

In the reign of your kingship, no king has ever
stood as your equal.
Over the entire land, sea, and mountains, has your
exalted power been found.
With the fierce strength of your scepter, you
established all the regions in every direction.
(trans., Machinist, 1978:116-117 col. VA lines 15-17)

Kadesh Battle Inscriptions of Ramesses II: Poem records the military acknowledging Ramesses great deeds:

You have saved your soldiers, your chariotry;
You are Amun's son who acts with his arms,
You have felled Khatti by your valiant strength.
You are the perfect fighter, there's none like you,
A king who battles for his army on battle day;
You are great-hearted, first in the ranks,
You heed not all the lands combined.

You are greatly victorious before your army,
Before the whole land, it is no boast;
Protector of Egypt, curber of foreign lands,
You have broken the back of Khatti forever.
(trans., Lichtheim, 2006:69 lines 240-250)

7.3.2.2 Strategies for battle

The Ramesses' Bulletin records that his officials and his military are unprepared for the battle. The text reads:

Then spoke the chiefs who were in the Presence in answer to the Good [God]: 'It is a great time that the governors of foreign countries and the chiefs of Pharaoh have committed in failing to discover for themselves the Foe from Khatti wherever he was, and to report him to Pharaoh daily.' Then the vizier was commanded to hasten the army of Pharaoh as it marched on the way to the south of the town of Shabtuna, so as to bring it to where his majesty was. (trans., Lichtheim, 2006:61 lines 60-70)

In Thutmose III's Annals on the battle of Megiddo, Thutmose hears of the planned ambush and consults his military. The text reads,

That wretched foe of Kadesh has come and entered into Megiddo and is [there] at this moment. He has gathered to him the princes of [all] the foreign lands [that had been loyal] to Egypt, as well as those from as far as Nahrin, consisting of - - -, Khor and Kedy, their horses, their armies, [their people]. And he says – it is reported – “I shall wait [and fight his majesty here] in Megiddo.” (Now) tell me [what you think]. (trans. Lichtheim, 2006:30 lines 15-25)

This section showed that the role of the military was not just to fight but also to advise the king on the battle against their enemy. The details of the military role in the Kadesh Battle Inscriptions of Ramesses II: Bulletin and Thutmose III's Annals on the battle of Megiddo do not occur in the parallel accounts of the battle scene, Kadesh Battle Inscriptions of Ramesses II: Poem and the Gebel Barkal Stela and Armant Stela, respectively.

7.3.3 Enemy's defeat

An ancient Near Eastern Battle account can emphasize different aspects of the enemies' defeat, such as 1. tribute and honor and 2. retreat or submission.

7.3.3.1 Tribute and honor

The account of Thutmose III's enemies giving their weapons "as gifts" is on the Gebel Barkal Stela but not in Thutmose III's Annals on the battle of Megiddo or on the Armant Stela. The text reads,

...and all their weapons. This is what they had come with, to fight and conspire against My Majesty, and now they brought them as gifts to My Majesty. They stood on their walls giving praise to My Majesty to be given the breath of life. (trans. Nederhof, 2009:8 line 23)

7.3.3.2 Retreat or submission

It is in Kadesh Battle Inscriptions of Ramesses II: Poem, not in the Bulletin, that the enemy asks for peace.

Then my majesty relented in life and dominion, being like Mont at his moment when his attack is done. My majesty ordered brought to me all the leaders of my infantry and my chariotry, all my officers assembled together, to let them hear the matter about which he had written. My majesty let them hear these words which the vile Chief of Khatti had written to me. Then they said with one voice: "Very excellent" is peace: O Sovereign our Lord! There is no blame in peace when you make it. (trans. Lichtheim, 2006:71 lines 320-330)

The Kadesh Battle Inscriptions of Ramesses II: Poem includes the adversaries' military honoring Ramesses; this is not in the Bulletin. The texts records,

They called out to one another:
"Beware, take care, don't approach him,
Sakmet the Great is she who is with him,
She's with him on his horses, her hand is with him;
Anyone who goes to approach him,
Fire's breath comes to burn his body!"
(trans. Lichtheim, 2006:70 line 285-290)

Thutmose III's Annals on the battle of Megiddo describe the enemy retreating and receiving help from surrounding nations. The text reads:

Then his majesty overwhelmed them at the head of his army. When they saw his majesty overwhelming them, they fled headlong [to] Megiddo with faces of fear, abandoning their horses, their chariots of gold and silver, so as to be hoisted up into the town by pulling at their garments. For the people had shut the town behind them, and they now [lowered] garments to hoist them up into the town. (trans. Lichtheim, 2006:32 lines 85-90)

The enemies' admission of their defeat and giving tribute to the king reinforces the claim that the king was victorious over his enemies.

7.3.4 Function of the gods

It is well attested that the presence of gods in ancient Near Eastern battle accounts show who is justified or condemned in a battle (Younger, Hallo & Batto, 1991:112). However, a couple of things require further examination: the presence of the gods can signal 1. increased punishment, and 2. provide divine strength and prosperity to the king.

7.3.4.1 Increased punishment

In LKA 63, the gods hear the enemy's taunt and respond with curses and a command to destroy the enemy. The text reads:

Although their talk of war was extremely(?)...,
mightily the Lord pronounced(?) their destruction.
[] Enlil, [in the asse]mbly...
[] 'I have praised the god of the Ekur.'
He cursed(?) [] their people.
For the purpose of slaughtering the enemy he made a god
pre-eminent.
All the gods heard his utterance.
Aššur commanded 'Slaughter the enemy!'
'Destroy the foe' went forth from his lips.
Slaughter swayed his heart.
To eradicate the wicked one, his mouth...
(Hurowitz & Westenholz, 1990:5 obv. lines 20-25)

The Tukulti-Ninurta Epic shows the gods each bringing a different weapon to battle—possibly pointing to a different punishment for the enemy. The text below includes punishment by fire, light, wind, and water.

Aššur, in the vanguard went to the attack; the fire
of defeat burned upon the enemy.
Enlil . . . in the midst of the foe, (and) sends
flaming arrows smoking.
Anu pressed the un pitying mace upon the wicked.
The heavenly light Sin imposed upon them the
paralyzing weapon of battle.
Adad, the hero, let a wind (and) flood pour down
over their fighting.
Šamaš, lord of judgment, dimmed the eyes of the armies
of the land of Sumer and Akkad.
Heroic Ninurta, first of the gods, smashed their
weapons.
(trans. Machinist, 1978:119 VA 33-39)

In the Epic, the enemy is burned and attacked with fiery arrows; they are paralyzed and blinded by the gods.

However, the Annals present a slightly different picture. It is the gods who support the King's efforts. What exactly the gods do when they enter battle is unclear. The Annals record:

With the support of the gods Aššur, Enlil, and Šamaš, the great gods, my lords, (and) with the aid of the goddess Ištar, mistress of heaven (and) underworld, (who) marches at the fore of my army, I approached Kaštiliašu, King of Kardunias, to do battle. I brought about the defeat of his army (and) felled his warriors. In the midst of that battle, I captured Kaštiliašu, King of the Kassites, (and) trod with my feet upon his lordly neck as though it were a footstool. (Grayson, Frame, Frayne & Maidman 1987:244 V 48-69)

7.3.4.2 Divine strength and prosperity from the gods

LKA 63 includes a record of gods empowering the king's weapons so he can gain victory. The text reads:

He makes pre-eminent the weapons of Tiglath-Pileser,

the champion.

In front of him (Tiglath-Pileser), Enlil leads him into war.

Istar, Lady of Turmoil, stirs him to battle.

Ninurta, foremost of the gods, takes (position) at his fore.

On his right, Nusku massacres all the enemies.

On his left, Addu devastates the foes.

He (the King) follows close upon them (the gods) raining down weapons.

Daily, he inflicts upon them devastation.

The king storms against the lofty(?) Qumanian lands.

All of their cult centers he conquers.

(Hurowitz & Westenholz, 1990:6 rev lines 5-15)

In contrast, the Tiglath-Pileser Annals focus more on how the king fights rather than any assistance he might receive from the gods. The text reads,

Against their dense array

in the city and on the mountains I fought fiercely.

And I defeated them.

Their fighting men in the midst of the hills

I overthrew like standing corn (?);

(Budge, 1991:78 col. VI lines 1-5)

In Thutmose III's Annals on the battle of Megiddo, the gods are credited with "strengthening" the king: "Northward journey by my majesty with my father Amen-Re, Lord of Thrones-of the Two-Lands, [that he might open the ways] before me, Harakhti fortifying [the heart of my valiant army], and - - - protecting my majesty" (trans. Lichtheim, 2006:31 lines 55-60).

In the Kadesh Battle Inscriptions of Ramesses II: Poem, the gods cause Ramesses' reign to prosper. The text reads, "They granted him millions of jubilees forever on the throne of Re, all lowlands and all highlands lying prostrate under his feet for ever and all time" (trans. Lichtheim, 2006:71 line 340).

As noted in the introduction, the presence of the gods is customary in battle. The gods provide the victor's army exactly what they need to subdue enemy forces, even though the details of what the victor's army may need can vary from battle to battle.

7.3.5 Order of Events

It was noted above in the scholarly review that ancient Near Eastern battle accounts could differ in the order of events (see 7.2.2). This section points to differences that occur at the beginning of ancient Near Eastern battle accounts, which focus variously on 1. the enemy's preparation or rebellion, 2. the king's commission, or 3. the celebration of the gods.

7.3.5.1 Enemies' preparation or rebellion

Tiglath-Pileser's LKA 63 begins with the enemies' preparation for war:

The sons of the [mountains(?)] devised warfare in their hearts.

They prepared for battle; they sharpened their weapons.

The enemies initiated their war.

All the highland(ers) were assembled clan by clan.

The Qumanian initiated his war.

The Musrian was at his side for the conflict.

The mass of the assembled-force was coordinated.

The Gutian seethed, aflame with terrifying splendor.

All the armies of the mountains, the Confederation of the Habhu lands.

(Hurowitz & Westenholz, 1990:5 obv lines 6-10)

In another example, Thutmose III's Annals on the battle of Megiddo show that Thutmose did not start the battle but rather is responding to a rebellion. The text reads, "For it had happened in the time of other (kings) that the garrison there was (only) in Sharuhem, while from Yerdj to the ends of the earth there was rebellion against his majesty" (trans. Lichtheim, 2006:30 lines 10-15). However, the Gebel Barkal Stela begins with a celebration of the king. The text records:

No equal to him has been found warrior, hero on the battlefield,

in whose vicinity there is no resistance, who immediately overpowers all foreign lands,

as commander of his army,

while he rushes between the barbarians as a star that crosses the sky,

who enters the turmoil of battle, while his glowing breath [attacks] them with fire.

(trans. Nederhof, 2009:3 lines 5-6)

7.3.5.2 The king's commission

The Tiglath-Pileser Annals, on the other hand, record the commission of the king to fight:

To conquer the land of Musri, Ashur the lord
sent me and between the mountains of Elamuni, and
Tala, and Kharusa I marched.
I conquered the land of Musri in its length and breadth,
their warriors I overthrew,
the cities I burned with fire, I laid waste.
(Grayson, 1991:75 col. V lines 67-72)

7.3.5.3 Celebration of the gods

The Armant Stela begins by honoring the gods:

Horus of Edfu, great god, lord of heaven, may he give life! Words to be
spoken:
I have given you all life and dominion, all health, and all valour and strength
Month, lord of Thebes. The good god, lord of rituals, Menkheperre, given life
forever.
(trans. Nederhof, 2009:1 lines1-3)

7.4 EXCURSUS: THE RED SEA EVENT IN LIGHT OF ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN BATTLE ACCOUNTS

Thus far we have surveyed scholarship of differences among ancient Near Eastern Battle accounts and presented some of the key differences from our own analysis of the parallel ancient Near Eastern battle accounts. Now, this investigation concludes this chapter with an excursus on some of the ways the differences among ancient Near Eastern battle accounts can shed light on the Red Sea event in Exodus 13:17–14:31 and Exodus 15:1-18. They are as follows:

1. Ancient Near Eastern battle accounts are composed for the king to emphasize his rule and victory (7.3.1). The composition of the Red Sea event reveals who YHWH is to his people and that YHWH rescues and saves his people (6.2.1) so they can be in fellowship with him (6.2.7). In other words, the composition of the Red Sea event benefits the Israelites' relationship with YHWH.

2. In ancient Near Eastern battle accounts the king needs the help of his god or the gods (7.3.4). Likewise, in the Red Sea event, the Israelites need YHWH's help.
3. In ancient Near Eastern battle accounts, the king has a relationship with his god or the gods (7.3.1.4). In the Red Sea event, specifically the poem, the people and their leader have a relationship with YHWH (6.2.1).
4. In Ancient Near Eastern battle accounts the record of the battle can start at any point or position of the battle (7.3.5). Likewise, the Red Sea event in the narrative starts at the coming out of Egypt, but the poem after the defeat of the Egyptians (6.2.10).
5. Ancient Near Eastern battle accounts include tributes and sacrifices to the gods (7.3.3.1). However, for the Red Sea event there are no tributes or sacrifices brought to YHWH. The only thing required of the Israelites is thankfulness for YHWH's deliverance.
6. Ancient Near Eastern battle accounts feature the king collecting spoils to highlight the extent of his victory (7.3.1) But there is no record of the collection of spoils at the Red Sea event. The Israelites plundered the Egyptians before the Red Sea event (Exod 12:36).
7. Ancient Near Eastern battle accounts show the king fighting to expand territory, enforcing judgment for breaking an oath, and stopping rebellious uprisings (7.3.1). However, there is no earthly king in the Red Sea event. The Israelites are led by Moses, "YHWH's servant," who like the Israelites, must depend on YHWH for direction and protection (6.2.3). The absence of a king shows that the Israelites are not like other nations who put their trust in an earthly king.
8. Ancient Near Eastern battle accounts show that a king can gain divine strength or power from the gods (7.3.1). None of the Israelites, including Moses, receive divine power—yet they are victorious (6.2.9).
9. In ancient Near Eastern battle accounts, the king expects the gods to save him because he does good deeds for the gods (7.3.1.4). However, the Israelites do nothing to earn their rescue. They are saved because YHWH responds to the Israelites' cry, and he remembers the promise he made to their ancestors (6.2.1).
10. In ancient Near Eastern battle accounts, the gods fight with the king, sometimes using weapons and sometimes not armed (7.2.2, 7.3.4.1) However, YHWH does not need weapons, other gods, or an army led by a king to win a battle. Further, none of YHWH's intermediaries (6.2.5) fight the enemy. Rather they defend the Israelites by holding back the Egyptian military. YHWH stops the chariots, causes the wind to move the waters and throws the Egyptians in the water so that they may drown (6.2.8, 6.2.9). This shows that YHWH is greater than all other gods.

11. In ancient Near Eastern battle accounts, the ones who run away from battle are considered weak; it is usually a sign that they will lose the battle (7.2.1). This is not so in the Red Sea event. The Israelites who have a propensity to turn from battle are not defeated: they are rescued by YHWH (6.2.4).
12. In Ancient Near Eastern battle accounts, the military honors and advises the King (7.3.2.1). In the Red Sea event, Moses has no earthly advisor at the Red Sea. Moses depends on YHWH for guidance (6.2.3).

7.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter intended to examine ancient Near Eastern battle accounts to determine how these accounts might shed light on the Red Sea event in Exodus 13:17–14:31 and Exodus 15:1-18. Scholars recorded differences between other ancient Near Eastern battle accounts and pointed to how those differences provided an indication of the purpose for the account. For example, Younger (Younger, Hallo & Batto, 1991:112) notes that the Tukulti-Ninurta Epic's emphasis on King Tukulti-Ninurta's defeat of King Kaštiliaš showed that the Epic was likely composed "to justify Tukulti-Ninurta's Babylonian policy." Hurowitz and Westenholz (1990:45) posit that LKA emphasis on the king and his victory could mean it was composed to honor the king, his god, or part of a worship ceremony. Berman notes that references to Amun in the Kadesh Battle Inscriptions of Ramesses II: Poem show how the Poem emphasizes the role of Ramesses' god in the victory.

This chapter also expanded the scholarship on differences in ancient Near Eastern battle accounts. For example, some ancient Near Eastern battle accounts presented the king receiving divine power, while others emphasized using his power to win a battle (7.3.4.2). Some accounts showed the military celebrating their king, and in some cases, the military did not celebrate their king (7.3.2.1). In another example, the king's capture of victory spoils (7.3.1.5) could indicate the king's power and success in battle. The chapter concluded with observations of how ancient Near Eastern battle accounts were similar and dissimilar to the Red Sea event. For example, the Israelites and ancient Near Eastern kings rely on their God/gods for victory in a battle. In contrast, ancient Near Eastern kings gained divine power from the gods, but none of the Israelites possess divine power; all power remains with YHWH.

The next chapter of this thesis examines other accounts of the Red Sea event in the Old Testament to determine how the Israelites understood the event after crossing the Red Sea.

CHAPTER EIGHT: THE RED SEA EVENT IN OTHER BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT—AN INTERTEXTUAL ANALYSIS

8.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter addresses objective seven—to investigate the theological implications of the Red Sea event in narrative and the poem by examining how the Red Sea event is recalled in other OT texts—and the seventh question—what are the theological meanings of the Red Sea event in the narrative and the poem? One of the reasons scholars compare Exodus 13:17–14:31 to Exodus 15:1-12 and not Exod 15:13-18 is the thought that vv. 13-18 refer to the Israelites' journey through the wilderness and to YHWH's sanctuary (Durham, 1987:203; Ska, 1983:458; Driver, 1911:137). However, accounts of the Red Sea event in other parts of the OT do the same as the poetic account: they emphasize different parts of Exodus account of the Red Sea and include content not mentioned in the Exodus narrative. In this chapter some of these other accounts are investigated using the intertextual analysis modeled by L. Daniel Hawk in his essay *Strange Houseguests: Rahab, Lot and the dynamics of deliverance* (Hawk, 1992:89). Hawk investigates how Rahab's interaction with the spies in Joshua 2:1-24 "appropriates" elements of Lot's engagement with the spies in Genesis 19:1-29. Hawk notes shared language, themes, and structure by comparing the participant's response to shared events and summarizing the meaning of Rahab's interaction with the spies. For example,

The angels speak to Lot with a sense of urgency, exhorting him to gather his family and informing him that that they are about to destroy the city. Lot does as he is told but is not able to gather his entire family together, his sons-in law do not take him seriously (Gen 19:14). The corresponding scene in Jericho represents a significant reversal. Here Rahab, not the two spies, speaks with urgency and dictates the course of action and conversation. The spies mirror the passivity of Lot, after the king's men depart, they once again prepare to 'lie down' (vs. 8a). Rahab, however, realizes that the spies are in a predicament and recognizes her opportunity to gain deliverance. She, not the spies, speaks of approaching doom, couching her declarations in the language of praise to Israel's God (vss. 9b-11). (Hawk, 1992:92)

Hawk continues describing the ways that shared themes between Lot's rescue and Rahab's deliverance are described anew in Rahab's interaction with the spies.

This chapter will summarize each of the selected Old Testament passages and provide an outline of the specific elements of the Red Sea event each passage presents and in what order, followed by the location in Exodus where each of those elements is found. It will then offer some observations of how the Red Sea event took shape in the lives of the participants. Finally, this chapter will conclude with some comments on how other Old Testament presentations of the Red Sea event combine parts of the Exodus narrative and Exodus poem. This chapter examines accounts of the Red Sea event as depicted in the Pentateuch, Joshua, Psalms, Isaiah, and Nehemiah.

8.2 THE PENTATEUCH

8.2.1 Numbers 33

The book of Numbers records the Israelites' journey through the wilderness after they cross the Red Sea. It also shows the Israelites struggling to obey YHWH and their leaders. For example, in Numbers 12, Aaron and Miriam question Moses' decision to marry a Cushite woman; in Numbers 14, the Israelites disobey YHWH's instructions through Moses to enter the promised land; in Numbers 16, Korah and other leaders question Moses' leadership, which causes the people to rebel. Thus, when Numbers 33 recounts the Israelites' deliverance out of Egypt through the Red Sea, it is evident that the Israelites still have much to learn about obeying YHWH and his servant, Moses. Numbers 33 records the Israelites' itinerary out of Egypt to Moab (Num 33:1, 49). Ashley (1993:393), commenting on the "theological purpose" for the list, argues, "And each stopping place is a witness not only to the leadership of Moses (who is about to die; cf. 27:12–23), but also to the mighty grace of God who led the people on, in spite of all, toward the promised land." Pressler (2017:220) comments on the itinerary showing YHWH's faithfulness, "After years of wandering, that travail is over. God's promise to this community of former slaves has begun to be fulfilled."

The Red Sea event as outlined in Numbers 33 is as follows:

1. The Israelites leave Egypt (Num 33:1; cf., Exod 13:17).
2. Moses and Aaron are the leaders of the Israelites (Num 33:1).
3. YHWH commands Moses to write down the itinerary of the Israelites' departure from Egypt (Num 33:2).
4. The Israelites leave Ramesses the day after the Passover (Num 33:3).
5. The Israelites leave Egypt with confidence (Num 33:3; cf. Exod 13:18).
6. The Israelites leave Egypt while the Egyptians watched (Num 33:3).
7. The Egyptians bury their dead while the Israelites leave the land (Num 33:4).

8. YHWH kills the Egyptians' firstborn (Num 33:4).
9. YHWH judges the gods of the Egyptians (Num 33:4).
10. The Israelites travel a specific route out of Egypt (Num 33:5-8; cf. Exod 13:20–14:1).
11. The Israelites pass through a divided sea (Num 33:8; cf. Exod 14:22).
12. The Israelites journey to the wilderness (Num 33:8).

Numbers 33 emphasizes four specific areas of the Red Sea event: 1. Moses' and Aaron's leadership of Israel; 2. the Passover; 3. the Israelites' confidence; and 4. the Egyptians' defeat. These specific areas may have been emphasized in order to encourage the newly freed Israelites to move forward and conquer the promised land.

8.2.1.1 Moses' and Aaron's leadership of the Israelites

The report that Moses and Aaron both lead the Israelites to the sea is not mentioned in the book of Exodus. Numbers makes reference to בִּיד־מֹשֶׁה וְאַהֲרֹן ("hand/power of Moses and Aaron"), thus drawing attention to the role of Aaron in leading the people out of Egypt. However, the Exodus account focuses on YHWH leading Moses who then leads the Israelites. The reference to Aaron's role in Numbers 33 may be to remind the Israelites that YHWH assigns Aaron to aid Moses as he leads the people out of Egypt (Exod 4). As stated in the summary of Numbers 33, the Israelites have a history of disobedience to YHWH and his leaders. The book of Numbers also records the consequences for their disobedience: they must wander in the wilderness for forty years (Num 14:34), Korah and his followers are put to death for their rebellion (Num 16:31-32), and YHWH sends plagues against the Israelites (Num 16:46-49). Therefore, Numbers 33 confirms that YHWH is the one who calls his leaders. The reference to Aaron could signal YHWH's restoration and forgiveness of Aaron, who also led the Israelites to rebel by creating a golden calf (Exod 32).

8.2.1.2 Passover

Numbers 33:3-4 records that the Israelites left the day after the Passover celebration. Exodus 12 provides the details of the Passover, such as YHWH's sparing the lives of the Israelites, killing the firstborn of Egypt, and judging the Egyptian gods. Consequently, the Israelites will not be able to recall their departure from Egypt without remembering YHWH's deeds during the Passover festival. Further, the announcement of the Passover reminds the people of their obligation to acknowledge YHWH for all he has done for his people. This is significant because the Israelites will encounter more enemies who will be stronger, and they will have to remember that their victory did not rest in their power but in the power of YHWH.

8.2.1.3 The Israelites' confidence

Numbers 33 does not present the Israelites as complaining, rebellious, or fearful that YHWH would let them die near the sea. Rather, the Israelites are confident: they are not even fearful when departing in the presence of their former oppressors. It is important to note that the text could have emphasized that the Israelites were fearful and complaining at the Red Sea. However, the intent of this passage seems to show that the Israelites are a confident community who can defeat other enemies along the journey from the wilderness to the promised land.

8.2.1.4 The Egyptians' defeat

Numbers 33 does not present the Egyptians as an aggressive, confident enemy intent on reclaiming the Israelites as slaves. Instead, the Egyptians are a defeated community occupied with burying their dead. The presentation in Numbers 33 shows that the Egyptians have no intention of stopping the Israelites, they merely watch them exit the land.

In Numbers 33, the Israelites are reminded of who led Israel, why they are to keep the Passover, their history as a confident nation, and the enemies' defeat, all of which should inspire the people to obey their leaders and trust YHWH to bring them to their promised inheritance.

8.2.2 Deuteronomy 11

In Deuteronomy 11, the Israelites are at the end of their wilderness journey and near the border of the promised inheritance. Woods (2011:176) notes:

Chapter 11 concludes the great introduction to the law that began in 4:1–40, and continues to expound the summary introduced at 10:12–22. The point of the whole passage is the careful consideration and observance that Israel must give to loving God and keeping all his commands (cf. 4:9; 6:1–8; 7:12–16), in order that they might make the right choice relating to conquest and life within the land.

The beginning of the chapter records Moses telling the people once again to remember the significance of the Red Sea event. The account of the Red Sea event in Deuteronomy 11 is as follows:

1. YHWH defeats the Egyptian army (Deut 11:4; cf. Exod 14:30, 15:6).

2. YHWH causes the waters to overtake the Egyptians (Deut 11:4; cf. Exod 14:28, 15:4-5).
3. The Egyptians pursue the Israelites (Deut 11:4; cf. Exod 14:23, Exod 15).
4. YHWH ruins the Egyptians (Deut 11:4; cf. Exod 14:30).

The emphasis is on YHWH's defeat of the Egyptians, possibly to remind the people that the same YHWH who defeated the Egyptians can destroy other enemies who occupy the land. Deuteronomy 11:4 repeats that YHWH defeated the Egyptians, bringing them to ruin. Deuteronomy 11:4 also notes that the Egyptians were chasing the Israelites—thus at some point the Egyptians believed that they could overtake the Israelites and return them to slavery. However, YHWH intervenes and causes the waters to overtake the Egyptians. The description of the Egyptians' death in the waters—waters that do not harm the Israelites—once again indicates that YHWH fights for his people and is capable of destroying enemies stronger than the Israelites.

8.3 JOSHUA 2, 4 AND 24

The book of Joshua presents at least three different references to the Red Sea event. Each account seems to be presented to encourage the Israelites through the various stages of possessing their inheritance. Joshua 2 inspires the Israelites to fight, Joshua 4 reminds the people to remember their victory, and Joshua 24 calls for the people to recommit themselves to serving YHWH.

8.3.1 Joshua 2

The account of the Red Sea event in Joshua 2 is as follows:

1. Rahab confesses that YHWH has given the land to the Israelites (Josh 2:9; cf. Exod 15:13,17).
2. The inhabitants feared the Israelites (Josh 2:9,11; cf. Exod 15:14-16).
3. The inhabitants heard of YHWH's deeds (Josh 2:10; cf. Exod 15:14-16).
4. The Israelites were delivered out of Egypt (Josh 2:10; cf. Exod 13:17).
5. The Israelites defeated Sihon and Og (Josh 2:10).
6. The inhabitants feared when they heard what the Israelites had done to their enemies (Josh 2:1; cf. Exod 15:14-16).
7. YHWH recognized as God over the heavens and the earth (Josh 2:11; cf. Exod 15:11).

Rahab's confession in Joshua 2 emphasizes three parts of the Red Sea event: 1. the land belongs to the Israelites; 2. the people fear YHWH; and 3. YHWH is greater than all other gods. Each one is addressed in turn.

8.3.1.1 The land belongs to the Israelites

Rahab admits defeat when she states that the land belongs to the Israelites. In addition, her reference to the land reminds the Israelites that YHWH has a place for his people to dwell. In other words, YHWH has not delivered the Israelites from Egypt to wander in the wilderness. The mention of the land also hints at the promise YHWH made to Abraham in Genesis 15:18 of giving the Israelites land "from the wadi of Egypt to the great river, Euphrates."

8.3.1.2 The people fear YHWH

Another point of emphasis is that fear has gripped the inhabitants. The reason for the people's fear is they have heard about the drying up of the Red Sea and the Israelites' coming out of Egypt. The confession by Rahab shows that she was not the only one to believe the report of YHWH. Hubbard, (2009:119) states,

She reveals the popular mood in Canaan. A terrible dread of Israel now grips the land....Such "great fear" is precisely what the warrior Yahweh promised to spread among Israel's enemies (Deut. 11:25). Theologically, Israel's imminent victory derives from their alliance with Yahweh, not their own strength or cunning.

Further, Rahab's announcement to the spies concerning the people's fear allows the spies to communicate back to the other Israelites their enemies' words—they fear Israel and her God. When Moses first sent out spies to enter the promised land, ten of the twelve spies were terrified by the appearance of the enemy. But in Joshua 2, the spies provide an account of not only what they saw but what they have heard. Therefore, YHWH gives the Israelites additional confirmation of their victory.

8.3.1.3 YHWH is greater than all other gods

Another confession Rahab makes is that her people have heard of what happened to Sihon and Og. The defeat of Sihon and Og along with YHWH's other deeds leads Rahab to the conclusion that the Israelites' God's power extends "above the heavens and beyond the earth." Her announcement of the greatness of YHWH is another moment of concession, for she realizes that none of the gods of her people has the power of YHWH. This confession is like

the Israelites' rhetorical question in Exodus 15:11: "Who among the gods is like you, Oh Lord?" The answer for the Israelites is that there is no one that can match the power of YHWH.

The report from Rahab should serve as an inspiration to the Israelites to go forward and conquer Jericho. Rahab is so convinced that her people will lose that she has already negotiated her surrender and service to YHWH. Further, she has proven her allegiance to YHWH by protecting the spies whom she could have readily turned over to the king's officials. Rahab's actions are evidence that she is convinced that her people cannot win the battle against the Israelites since they are led by YHWH.

8.3.2 Joshua 4

The next account of the Red Sea event in Joshua is not from the enemy's perspective; it is from Joshua when he has the Israelites establish a memorial for passing through the Jordan River. Joshua 4:3 records that the memorial is twelve stones placed by one man from each of the twelve tribes. The memorial reminds the people of their deliverance through the Jordan River. McConville (2010:23) contends that the stones are both a "memorial" and a "promise." He states,

It [the twelve stones] is, of course, a memorial of something that has happened, and as such belongs squarely within the important Old Testament tradition of remembering as an act of worship and formation....At the same time it contains a promise, since it marks the claim to the land made in this formative moment by Yahweh.

As Joshua recalls their deliverance through the Jordan River, he tells the Israelites that this event is like the miracle at the Red Sea.

1. YHWH dries up the Jordan like he did to the Red Sea (Josh 4:23; cf. Exod 14:22).
2. YHWH is their God (Josh 4:23; cf. Exod 15:2).
3. All the people cross over (Josh 4:23; cf. Exod 14:21-22).

The emphasis is on YHWH leading Israel so they may be encouraged to continue their journey to their inheritance. Joshua reminds the people that it is YHWH who delivered the Israelites through the sea to their inheritance. Further, the opening of the Jordan, like that of the Red Sea, is evidence that YHWH's power is not geographically limited to Egypt or the crossing of the Red Sea. On the contrary, YHWH, who led them out of Egypt, proves once again that he can lead his people through any obstacle that stands in the way of them getting to their promised inheritance.

Joshua's establishment of a memorial for the event ensures that no one forgets that YHWH is the one leading his people forward through the land.

8.3.3 Joshua 24

Joshua 24 is a continuation of Joshua's last speech to the Israelites from Joshua 23. Joshua 23:14 records Joshua's awareness that he is about to die which is seemingly the reason why he takes time to remind the people to conquer and possess the promised land and exhorts them to remain faithful to YHWH. Joshua 24 includes a record of the Israelites' history, Joshua challenging the people to remain faithful to YHWH, and a covenant renewal ceremony. The ceremony includes the placement of a copy of the Law under a stone and the stone under a terebinth tree. Joshua 24:27 records that the stone is a witness to the proceedings so the people will not turn away from their commitment to YHWH. Butler (2014:301) states,

It is thus fitting that the climax of the book is not a human warning (chap. 23) but a cultic affirmation (chap 24). Within the context of the ultimate history, the book of Joshua does not seek to teach a new law or issue a new warning to the people. It rather seeks to illustrate from history the identity of Israel.

The account of the Red Sea event is as follows:

1. YHWH brought the Israelites out of Egypt to the sea (Josh 24:6; cf. Exod 13:18).
2. The Israelites were pursued by the Egyptians (Josh 24:6; cf. Exod 14:9, 15:9).
3. The Israelites cried to YHWH (Josh 24:7; cf. Exod 14:10).
4. YHWH sent darkness between the Israelites and the Egyptians (Josh 24:7; cf. Exod 14:20).
5. YHWH sent water over the Egyptians (Josh 24:7; cf. Exod 14:28; 15:4-5).
6. The Israelites were witnesses of the Egyptians' defeat (Josh 24:7; cf. Exod 14:30).
7. The Israelites lived in the wilderness (because of their rebellion) (Josh 24:7).

Joshua emphasizes the following points: 1. YHWH's rescue of his people; 2. the Israelites' witness of their victory; and 3. Israel's journey in the wilderness. Each point perhaps is intended to remind the people that YHWH has fulfilled his promise to bring his people into their inheritance. YHWH has been faithful to Israel; the only question for Joshua is this: will Israel remain faithful to YHWH?

8.3.3.1 YHWH's rescue of his people

Joshua does not tell the people anything new about the Red Sea event. Rather, he re-emphasizes the things they are to remember. It is their history that distinguishes them from other nations. YHWH brought them out of Egypt to the obstacle of the sea; YHWH opened the sea, delivered them through the sea, and defeated their enemies. The Israelites are a nation that belongs to and serves YHWH.

8.3.3.2 Israelites' witness

The next thing Joshua wants the people to remember is that their ancestors witnessed YHWH's defeat of the Egyptians. The Israelites' ancestors saw the dead bodies of their former oppressors along the seashore. Therefore, the Israelites cannot deny their history that YHWH gave them the victory at the sea. The past eyewitness account of YHWH's victory should further remind the people of YHWH's power over any future enemies. Also, Joshua calls the people to be their own witness to the fact that they have made a decision to serve YHWH, and in v. 27 he sets up a stone memorial as a witness against the Israelites if they break the covenant.

Joshua 24 is the final account of the Red Sea event in Joshua. In this account the people are reminded that YHWH has fulfilled his promise and that they are a nation that belongs to YHWH.

8.4 PSALMS

Psalms 78, 106 and 136 each include a reference to the Red Sea event. Psalm 78 records the Israelites' recounting the Red Sea event during the exile. Psalm 106 presents the account of the Red Sea event as an appeal to be delivered from their enemy, and Psalm 136 presents the Israelites' thanking YHWH for his kindness and faithfulness towards his people. Each one is addressed in turn:

8.4.1 Psalm 78

Scholars note that Psalm 78 is a historical psalm (Estes, 2019:lxiii; Mays, 2011:254). Mays describes historical psalms, such as Psalm 78, as follows,

The so-called historical psalms all recite a version of the foundational narrative of Israel found in Genesis–Samuel, from Abraham to David. Though the psalms seem based on the narrative as it is recorded in these books, each version is selective and distinctive in the way it tells the story.

The different versions illustrate the creative ingenuity employed in shaping the material of Israel's traditions about its past. (Mays, 2011:254)

Psalm 78 includes a warning for the Israelites to not forget the things YHWH has done for his people and a reminder of YHWH's faithfulness to the Israelites. Listed below is an account of the Red Sea event as recalled by the psalter in Psalm 78:

1. YHWH divides the sea, and the people pass through it (Ps 78:13; cf. Exod 14:21-22).
2. He guides his people with a cloud by day and with a light of fire by night (Ps 78:14; cf. Exod 13:17-18).
3. YHWH guides his people safely through the water (Ps 78:53; cf. Exod 14:21-22).
4. YHWH destroys the enemy in the sea (Ps 78:53; cf. Exod 14:24-25; 15:5).
5. YHWH brings his people "to the border" of their inheritance (Ps 78:54; cf. Exod 15:17).

Psalm 78 emphasizes two key points: 1. YHWH delivers the Israelites; and 2. YHWH leads his people "to the border" of their inheritance to encourage the exiles that YHWH remains their deliverer.

8.4.1.1 YHWH delivers the Israelites

Psalm 78 reminds the people that YHWH is the one who divided the sea, led them with a pillar of cloud and destroyed their enemies. In other words, YHWH knew how to deliver his people and bring them to the point where they were prepared to enter their promised inheritance.

8.4.1.2 YHWH leads his people to the border of their inheritance

Psalm 78 reminds the people that it was YHWH who led them to their inheritance. It will be necessary for the Israelites who are in exile to remember that no matter who is possessing their land, the land was intended for Israel so she could dwell with YHWH.

The remembrance of YHWH's deeds at the Red Sea is one of the ways the people maintain their hope that YHWH will once again redeem his people.

8.4.2 Psalm 106

Some scholars (Gillingham, 2022:154; Anderson, 2000:222) argue that Psalm 106 is an individual lament. Gillingham (2022:154), commenting on the details of the lament, states, "Instead of the grace of God pervading the psalm...we now encounter God's anger (although vv.4-5 and 47 do show some hope for God's compassion)." YHWH is angry with Israel for failing to obey his commands. Specifically, verses 7-43 record the Israelites as forgetting

YHWH, rebelling against leadership, committing idolatry, and complaining against YHWH. The Psalm closes with the Israelites petitioning for YHWH to deliver them from their enemy and an acknowledgment that YHWH is the one who is blessed and reigns forever. The texts that recount the Red Sea event are:

1. The Israelites rebelled in Egypt (Ps 106:6).
2. The Israelites rebelled at the sea (Ps 106:6-7; cf. Exod 14:11-12).
3. YHWH saved Israel for his name's sake and to be known (Ps 106:8; cf. Exod 14:30-31).
4. YHWH rebuked the sea, and it dried up (Ps 106:9; cf. Exod 14:21).
5. YHWH led the people through the sea (Ps 106:9).
6. YHWH saved and redeemed his people from the hand of the enemy (Ps 106:10; cf. Exod 14:30-31; 15:13).
7. The waters covered the enemy and they all died (Ps 106:11; cf. Exod 14:27-28; 15:5, 10).
8. The Israelites believed in YHWH and sang (Ps 106:12; cf. Exod 14:31; 15:1).

Psalm 106 emphasizes that 1. YHWH saves Israel; and 2. the Israelites acknowledge YHWH. The people once again will need YHWH's mercy to be freed from their oppressors.

8.4.2.1 YHWH saves Israel

In the Psalm, YHWH saves Israel in spite of her history of rebellion in Egypt and at the sea. In the Exodus account there is no reference to the Israelites' rebellion in Egypt but rather to their complaint at the sea in which they express their desire to return to Egypt. Yet, YHWH is merciful and saves Israel by opening the sea. The history of YHWH's kindness is important because the people referenced in this Psalm have also rebelled against YHWH.

8.4.2.2 The Israelites acknowledge YHWH

The account concludes by referring to the Israelites' response to their deliverance—they believe in YHWH, and they sing of his great deeds. The reflection on the Israelites' response to victory is a reminder to the Israelites who are in exile of what YHWH requires of his people: that they believe in him and honor him.

Psalm 106 shows once again that YHWH can deliver his people. Further, it reminds the Israelites that their salvation comes because of YHWH, not because they have done something deserving of his mercy.

8.4.3 Psalm 136

Kidner (2014:493) notes that Psalm 136 is known as “the Great Hallel (‘the Great Psalm of Praise’).” In Psalm 136, the Israelites acknowledge YHWH’s deeds by repeating the phrase “For his lovingkindness endures forever.” Creager and Alleman (1948:590) note, “Causes for gratitude lie in the character and work of God, the supreme One (vv 1-4).” Further, “The knowledge of all these deeds, and the conviction that his loving-kindness is forever, inspire both a true spirit of thanksgiving and its ritual expression.” One of the great deeds of YHWH is the rescue of Israel from the pursuit of the Egyptians in the Red Sea event. The verses that refer to the Red Sea account as first recorded in Exodus are Psalm 136:13-15.

1. YHWH divided the sea (Ps 136:13; cf. Exod 14:21; 15:8).
2. YHWH led the people through the sea (Ps 136:14).
3. YHWH killed Pharaoh and destroyed his military in the sea (Ps 136:15; Exod 14:27; 15:4).

This text emphasizes 1. YHWH’s guidance of his people; and 2. YHWH’s defeat of Israel’s enemy, including Pharaoh, to show YHWH’s love for his people.

8.4.3.1 YHWH’S guidance of his people

The descriptions of YHWH as dividing the sea, leading the people, and destroying the enemy are presented as signs of YHWH’s love for his people. The Exodus narrative emphasizes YHWH’s protection of his people, but this Psalm is a reminder that the Israelites have come to understand YHWH as the one who rescues his people because of love.

8.4.3.2 Pharaoh’s defeat

The Red Sea event in Exodus does not clearly report that the Egyptians died. However, Psalm 136 leaves no room for debate. Every hearer of this Psalm will know that YHWH defeated all the Egyptians in the sea, including their leader, Pharaoh. YHWH’s complete destruction of his enemies would be important for the people to remember when they are in danger and appealing to YHWH for his help.

8.4.3.3 YHWH’s guidance and defeat of Israel’s enemies are signs of his love for his people.

Each of the three accounts of the Red Sea event in the Psalms presents YHWH as the one who successfully delivered the Israelites (who were rebellious and perhaps undeserving) out of the land of Egypt.

8.5 ISAIAH 63

Isaiah 63 presents YHWH as a warrior coming to impose his judgment on those who rebel against his decrees, the people's response to YHWH's judgment, and YHWH's kindness toward his people. In addition, the Israelites are in distress because they have been overtaken by their enemy, the Babylonians. Laniak (2006:128) argues, "Isaiah 63:7–64:11 is a communal lament that describes God's history of gracious dealings with his rebellious people in the wilderness."

The reference to the Red Sea event recorded in Exodus occurs in Isaiah 63:11-14 as the prophet Isaiah remembers (Isa 63:7) YHWH's kindness.

1. YHWH remembers his people and their leader Moses (Isa 63:11; cf. Exod 14:22).
2. The people ask where YHWH is who delivered them through the sea along with his shepherds (Isa 63:11; cf. Exod 14:22, 31).
3. The people inquire again about the location of the one who puts the Holy Spirit amongst the people (Isa 63:11).
4. The people ask for the whereabouts of the one whose "glorious arm" helped the "right hand" of Moses (Isa 63:12; cf. Exod 15:6).
5. YHWH's arm is near Moses' hand (Isa 63:12).
6. The people inquire of the location of the one (YHWH) who parted the waters before his people (Isa 63:12; cf. Exod 14:21).
7. The people declare that YHWH made himself known to them by his actions—dividing the sea (Isa 63:12; cf. Exod 15:2-3).
8. The people confess that YHWH brought them through the divided waters (Isa 63:12; cf. Exod 14:21).
9. YHWH safely leads his people (Isa 63:13; cf. Exod 14:21-22).
10. The Israelites were given rest (Isa 63:14).
11. YHWH made a name for himself (Isa 63:14; cf. Exod 14:4, 31; 15:1-2).

Isaiah 63 emphasizes that 1. Moses led the Israelites; 2. YHWH delivered Israel; and 3. YHWH gave the Israelites rest, thus providing the Israelites with hope that YHWH can and will deliver his people out of the exile.

8.5.1 Moses led the Israelites

Isaiah's presentation of Moses in the Red Sea event differs from the Exodus account. In Exodus, the Israelites complain against Moses for leading them out of Egypt to the Red Sea to die. At the end of the narrative, the Israelites finally believe in Moses as YHWH's servant.

But in Isaiah, while the Israelites are in exile, they remember Moses as one of the “shepherds of YHWH’s flock” and that it was YHWH’s “arm of power” near “Moses’ right arm” that caused the Israelites deliverance out of Egypt. So, they appeal for a leader like Moses who can safely return the people to their land.

8.5.2 YHWH delivered Israel

The exiles remember the Red Sea event, specifically that YHWH divided the sea, brought them out of Egypt, and killed the Egyptians. The text does not reveal if the Israelites are speaking in the presence of their captors or recalling the Red Sea event amongst the exiled Israelite community. Smith (2009:73) contends,

This historical review is centered around God’s steadfast love and goodness over the past centuries. God’s past ways were seen as something of a predictor of his expected behavior in the future; thus, this prayer requests divine favor in the future in spite of human sinfulness.

In other words, the exiles’ declaration of what YHWH accomplished at the Red Sea may be a way for them to encourage themselves to believe in YHWH’s deliverance from their current oppressors.

8.5.3 YHWH gave the Israelites rest

Isaiah also mentions that YHWH leads his people, as cattle, to rest. It is not evident whether this points to the Sabbath or to physical rest because of exhaustion. Likely, it is both, as when God granted rest to Moses (Exod 33) and Elijah (1 Kgs 19). In either case, the promise that they would be led toward rest could signal to the Israelites who are in exile that YHWH will redeem his people.

The people in Isaiah 63 appeal to YHWH for deliverance. The remembering of YHWH’s deeds at the Red Sea would have been an encouragement for those grieving the loss of their land.

8.6 NEHEMIAH 9

The book of Nehemiah details the Israelites’ return to Jerusalem to rebuild the walls after the exile. Although the people return to rebuild, they do not necessarily remember the ways of YHWH. Repeatedly Nehemiah and Ezra instruct the people on how to follow YHWH, in part so they will not make the same mistakes that led them into exile. Nehemiah 9 is a prayer from the Israelites to YHWH to hear their plea and once again deliver them from the consequences of their sins. Shepherd and Wright (2018:76) contend,

The God of the prayer of Neh 9 binds himself to this people by means of a covenant whose generosity is expressed in the gifts of progeny, but especially promised land—land whose richness and goodness reflect the full extent of God’s generous spirit. Yet the covenant also discloses a God of expectations, expressed in his law, which is seen to be no less good, right, and true.

The account of the Red Sea event in Nehemiah 9 is as follows:

1. YHWH responded to the Israelites’ cry at the sea (Neh 9:9; cf. Exod 14:15).
2. YHWH sent plagues against the Egyptians (Neh 9:10).
3. The Egyptians mistreated the Israelites (Neh 9:10).
4. YHWH made a name for himself (Neh 9:10; cf. Exod 14:4).
5. YHWH divided the sea (Neh 9:11; cf. Exod 14:21).
6. The Israelites passed through the sea (Neh 9:11; cf. Exod 14:22).
7. The Egyptians were thrown into the waters (Neh 9:11; cf. Exod 14:27; 15:4-5).
8. YHWH led the Israelites with a pillar of cloud and a pillar of fire (Neh 9:12; cf. Exod 13:21-22).

Nehemiah records that 1. YHWH is Israel’s protector; and 2. YHWH makes a name for himself. Both are designed to encourage the returning exiles to remain persistent in the rebuilding of Jerusalem.

8.6.1 YHWH is Israel’s protector

Nehemiah notes that the Egyptians mistreated the Israelites, and in response to the mistreatment, YHWH sent plagues against the Egyptians. Further, YHWH heard the cry of his people at the sea and did not leave them to die, but provided a way of escape through the sea. Nehemiah’s emphasis on YHWH’s protection of Israel at the Red Sea should encourage the people to continue the work of restoring Jerusalem in spite of opposition from surrounding nations.

8.6.2 YHWH makes a name for himself

The reference to YHWH’s name is not new, but it is important for the Israelites to remember as they transition back to Jerusalem that YHWH’s name was made known not because of their deeds but because of YHWH’s defeat of the Egyptians. Here too, is another opportunity for YHWH’s name to be made known as the one who brought his people back to their promised inheritance.

Nehemiah uses the Red Sea event to remind the people as they transition back home that YHWH remains their protector and that his name is great. Fensham (1983:181) argues,

The significance of the saving event [deliverance out of Egypt] is emphasized at the end of v. 10 with the phrase you *made a name for yourself up to this day*. The great and wonderful acts of God were still remembered in the days of the author. It is important for people in affliction to remember the power of their Lord over a mighty enemy like the Egyptians in times when they need salvation themselves (emphasis his).

In other words, YHWH has not changed, he is still on the side of his people, able to defeat their enemies.

8.7 ADDITIONAL OBSERVATIONS OF THE RED SEA EVENT IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

As noted in the introduction, this chapter includes some comments on how parts of the Exodus narrative and Exodus poem are combined in other Old Testament presentations, thus showing that the Israelites understood the narrative and poem as a single event.

In Joshua 2, Rahab repeats that terror and fear have seized the inhabitants. The theme of terror seizing the enemy is more emphasized in the poem than in the narrative. In the Exodus poem, four enemies (Philistines, Edomites, Moabites, and Canaanites) are so overwhelmed by fear that they cannot stop the Israelites' passing through the land (Exod 15:14-16). Joshua 2 also records that the Israelites belong to YHWH. The concept of Israel and YHWH belonging to one another—i.e., YHWH is Israel's God, and they are his children—is not in the narrative. Instead it is in the Exodus poem that the Israelites sing of their relationship with YHWH. Joshua 2 also records content that is in the narrative but not in the poem, such as the Israelites' coming out of Egypt (Exod 13:17). The Exodus poem contains no details on the Israelites' time in Egypt.

Isaiah 63 presents Moses as YHWH's representative, which is in the Exodus narrative (Exod 14:1) but not in the Exodus poem. Isaiah 63 also records YHWH's glorious/majestic arm (which leads Moses' hand), which is in Exodus 15:6 but not in the narrative.

Psalms 106 records the rebellion of the Israelites at sea and the Israelites' belief in Moses, which are in the Exodus narrative (Exod 14:11-12, 31) but not in the poem. In addition, Psalm 106 presents the Israelites' singing (Exod 15), but they do not sing in the Exodus narrative.

The examples in Joshua 2, Isaiah 63 and Psalm 106 provide at least some evidence that the Red Sea event was not understood by the ancient Israelites as a separate narrative and a separate poem. Rather, it was remembered as a single event of YHWH's deliverance of the Israelites through the Red Sea. Despite the differences among these various accounts, the Israelites did not view them as different events or contradictory accounts of the Red Sea event.

8.8 CONCLUSION

This investigation set out to determine how the Red Sea event was used in other parts of the Old Testament. Nearly every account referenced in this chapter records both YHWH's deliverance of the Israelites by means of a divided sea and the Egyptians' defeat. However, most accounts present the Red Sea event in a way that is slightly different from the Exodus account. For example, Numbers 33 references Moses' and Aaron's leadership and the Passover. In Joshua 2, Rahab references the land belonging to YHWH and the defeat of Sihon and Og. Joshua 4 references the Jordan River and the opening of the Red Sea. Joshua 24 highlights the importance of their ancestors' witness of YHWH's victory at the Red Sea. Nehemiah points to YHWH hearing the Israelites' cry, both when they were slaves in Egypt and at the Red Sea when they realized they were being pursued by the Egyptian army. Isaiah 63 includes the Israelite community remembering Moses as YHWH's servant and Isaiah reminding the people that it is YHWH who gives rest to his people. Psalm 78 points to the Israelites' arrival at the border of their inheritance. Psalm 106 emphasizes the rebellion of Israel in Egypt, and Psalm 136 points to the death of Pharaoh. None of the accounts reads the same, but each recounts the Red Sea event in Exodus. Thus, it seems the Israelites—whether they were going to the promised land, were in the promised land, were in exile, or were returning to the promised land—appeal to the Red Sea event in order to remember what YHWH did and still could do for his people.

CHAPTER NINE: CONCLUSION

9.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter nine concludes this study by addressing objective eight—to provide suggestions for understanding differences between the Red Sea event in the narrative and the poem in the OT—and answering the eighth question—what are the implications of the findings of this investigation for understanding differences between Red Sea event in the narrative and the poem. This thesis aimed to determine the reasons for differences between the narrative and poem of the Red Sea event in Exodus 13:17–14:31 and Exodus 15:1-18. Toward that end, this study included a survey of scholarship on the differences between the narrative and the poem; a table of the differences; an investigation of the meaning of differences using a contextual method; an analysis of the reasons for differences; a survey of differences in other ancient Near Eastern battle accounts, an independent study of differences in select ancient Near Eastern battle accounts; and a presentation of how the Israelites recounted the Red Sea event after they crossed the Red Sea. This chapter includes a summary of the chapters, summative findings, and finally, some conclusions.

9.2 SUMMARY OF CHAPTERS

Chapter two showed that many scholars did not examine the differences between the Red Sea event in the narrative and the poem. Source critics argued that the Exodus narrative was not one chronological account of the Red Sea event but rather multiple accounts of the Red Sea event from different perspectives and by different sources. For example, Exodus 14:21 tells of the pillar of cloud and the angel of God, which go behind the Israelites to guard them against the approaching Egyptians. For the source critic, Exodus 14:21 represents the work of at least two sources, one of which preferred reading the pillar of cloud (J), the other the angel of God (E). However, for some source critics the poem does not include any evidence of sources (i.e., JEDP), and therefore one possible explanation for the differences is the narrative is from sources, but not the poem. In addition, most source critics conclude that not all of Exodus 15:1-18 refers to the Red Sea event. Rather, Exodus 15:1-12 has to do with the Red Sea event, while vv. 13-18 refer to the wilderness and conquest journey after crossing the Red Sea. Therefore, source critics avoided comparing the twin accounts of the narrative of Exodus 13:17–14:31 and the poem of Exodus 15:1-18.

Historical-grammatical investigations of the narrative and poem were not much better. Scholars who used the historical-grammatical approach attributed some differences to a poetic reading of the narrative or a scribal slip. Although the poetic reading of a narrative and

scribal slips are valid reasons for some differences, it still leaves many differences unexplained. For example, why does the narrative give an account of the Egyptians leaving Egypt, the presence of a pillar of cloud, and the angel of God leading the people, but the poem does not mention these events? If one reads only the poem, one would have no record of why the Egyptians angrily pursued the Israelites.

Studies that examined the Exodus narrative and Exodus poem in light of ancient Near Eastern battle accounts succeeded in providing more examples of differences between the Exodus narrative and Exodus poem than did the analyses relying on source-critical or historical-grammatical investigations. For example, Berman (2017:57-60), in his investigation of Exodus 13:17–14:31 and Exodus 15:1-18, presents several examples of differences between the narrative and poem. However, his goal was not to show why the narrative and poem differed, but that the Exodus narrative and Exodus poem had the same sorts of differences that he observed between the Kadesh Battle Inscriptions of Ramesses II: Poem and Bulletin. So, while Berman (2017:57-60) succeeds in the goal of his study, questions still remain as to why the Red Sea narrative differs from the poem.

Other studies that compared the Red Sea event to the creation account in Genesis or the Canaanite Baal cycles pointed to the establishment of a new Israel and the destruction of chaos, specifically noting how YHWH uses his breath to cause the waters to destroy the rebellious Egyptians, which leads to the Israelites' freedom from re-enslavement or possibly death. However, these studies were not too helpful because they often overlooked comparing the creation account in Genesis or the Canaanite Baal cycles to the Exodus narrative. Thus, the literature review in chapter two confirmed that more work remained in order to determine the reasons for the differences between the Exodus narrative and the Exodus poem.

Chapter three of this study showed thirty-six differences between the Exodus narrative and the Exodus poem. For example, in the narrative, YHWH leads his people to the sea but in the poem, YHWH leads with steadfast love to his holy dwelling/sanctuary/mountain of inheritance. The narrative tells the reader how the Israelites arrive at the sea, and since it is YHWH leading the Israelites, they have not arrived at the sea by mistake. However, the poem records YHWH leading his people to a place where they dwell in YHWH's presence. Other differences that were the result of an omission of content in the parallel account were also identified. For example, the narrative records Moses removing Joseph's bones, but this is not in the poem. The poem refers to the Israelites' acknowledging YHWH as "my God," but this is not in the narrative. Then each difference was assigned to a stage of the Red Sea event. The stages were organized chronologically, from the Israelites' journey out of Egypt to their

acknowledgment of YHWH in Exodus 15:18. For example, stage one (Exodus out of Egypt) included the account of Pharaoh releasing the Israelites. Stage four (Opening of the sea) included the account of YHWH stretching forth his hand/arm. The titles for the stages (e.g., Exodus out of Egypt, Egyptians' death, and Fellowship with YHWH) provide a description of the events included in that subcategory. Chapter three further confirmed that previous studies had not addressed many differences and omissions.

Chapters four and five addressed the meaning of the differences between the narrative and the poem using a contextual method as modeled by Hallo (1980:1-26; 1991:23-34), who argued that the scholar should assess the meaning of events and words based on their ancient Near Eastern context. For example, YHWH's destruction of the Egyptian chariot wheels did not just represent YHWH's interference with the progress of the Egyptians. It also represented YHWH destroying a symbol of power and wealth, as chariots in the ancient Near East were costly and difficult to build. YHWH's leading his people out with the pillar of cloud and angel of God resembled the role of deities who went ahead of the king into a battle.

Chapters four and five further demonstrated that the presence of the deities was a sign of their favor. Thus, when the Israelites departed, YHWH's presence went ahead of them, signaling favor and victory. For the poem, the Israelites sing of YHWH's greatness, not of Moses. In ancient Near Eastern battle accounts, the people celebrate both the king and the gods. Thus, the poem distinguishes Israel's God as the one that does not share his glory with his creation. In another example, YHWH's reputation goes ahead of the Israelites, causing their enemies to fear, again showing YHWH leading and defending his people. Thus, contributions from the ancient Near Eastern *Sitz im Leben* provided important insight into the meaning of the differences. The contributions gained from such studies of the ancient Near East further confirm Hallo's argument for the use of the "contextual approach."

Chapter six included a further examination of the differences, but this time by examining the themes emphasized in the narrative against those emphasized in the poem. By examining the themes that were emphasized, the reasons for the composition of each account became much more apparent. For example, the narrative emphasized the fact that the Israelites were slaves to Pharaoh, but this is not in the poem. Instead, the Exodus poem emphasized the Israelites' relationship with YHWH. Another point of emphasis was the location of the Israelites: the narrative focused on where the Israelites departed from and the route to the sea, but the poem emphasized a journey to new territories with YHWH. Finally, with reference to YHWH as all powerful, the narrative emphasized YHWH's power over one enemy, while the poem focused on the fact that YHWH is greater than all enemies, including new ones. Consequently,

differences exist not because the accounts were by different sources, or merely because they portray a historical account of events in the genre of narrative vs. poem, or because one (the poem) is like the Genesis 1 creation account, or both share similarities to ancient Near Eastern battle accounts. They differ because they were intentionally composed to explain different parts of the Israelite deliverance through the Red Sea. Further, neither the narrative nor the poem could individually provide an adequate account of the Red Sea event, but it is by comparing and contrasting each account that the different emphases are made known.

Chapter seven explored how the Red Sea event was similar and dissimilar to other ancient Near Eastern battle accounts. The chapter included an overview of scholars' presentations of differences in ancient Near Eastern battle accounts, followed by an independent investigation of select ancient Near Eastern battle accounts. It was determined that other ancient Near Eastern battle accounts present the gods, the military, and the enemy in a variety of ways. For example, in ancient Near Eastern battle accounts, while the collection of the spoils of war signified victory, it was the length of the list of spoils that pointed to the magnitude of the victory. In another example, the god's involvement in the battle against the enemy further condemned the enemy. The chapter concluded with examples of how the Red Sea event differed from other ancient Near Eastern battle accounts. For example, the record of an ancient Near Eastern battle was designed to draw attention to the king and his valor, but the account of the Red Sea event is for the benefit of the Israelites, who come to know YHWH as their deliverer and their Lord. As another example, the king in the ancient Near Eastern battle account expects the gods to save him as some reward for his good works, but in the Red Sea event, the Israelites are saved despite their fear of the Egyptians and complaints against Moses. Also, ancient Near Eastern battle accounts provide details of the military gathering plunder after the victory, but there is no account of the Israelites plundering the Egyptians after their deliverance through the Red Sea; rather the Israelites plunder the Egyptians before they leave Egypt (Exod 12:36).

Chapter eight showed the significance of the Red Sea event in other parts of the Old Testament. The Red Sea event was recounted to encourage the Israelites to believe in YHWH, to prompt them to fight, and to remind them that they are a people who could depend on YHWH for rescue. The repetition of the Red Sea event throughout the Hebrew Bible indicates just how much it influenced the Israelites' understanding of their identity and relationship with YHWH.

9.3 SUMMATIVE FINDINGS

This study aimed to discover the purposes for differences in the writing of Exodus 13:17–14:31 and Exodus 15:1-18 using a contextual and intertextual analysis of the text. Upon the conclusion of this study, it was determined that there were thirty-six differences between the Red Sea even in the narrative and poem. Furthermore, these differences, when read within the context of the ancient Near Eastern *Sitz im Leben*, reveal more about the purposes for the narrative and the poem. The Exodus account of the Red Sea event in the narrative and poem do not differ merely because one is a narrative and one a poem, or because one account is the result of work of multiple sources (such as JEDP) and the other is not the result of sources or the work of a single source. Furthermore, the differences between the Red Sea event in the narrative and poem cannot fully be explained by showing how either one is like an ancient Near Eastern creation or battle account.

The Red Sea event is the most significant event in ancient Israelite history; it reveals who YHWH is to his people, tells the beginning of Israelite history as a nation, and explains what happened to the once-powerful Egyptians. YHWH could have had Moses merely teach the Israelites who he is (i.e., he is their God and their father's God [Exod 15:2]) or what he can do (i.e., defeat all His enemies [Exod 14:30; 15:14-16]). YHWH could have destroyed the Philistines and led the people on the more direct route by the "way of the Philistines." YHWH could have destroyed the Egyptian army in Egypt. Instead, YHWH caused each Israelite to have a personal experience of who he is and what he does by delivering them through the sea and defeating their enemy. As noted in chapter six, the narrative emphasizes the Israelites' journey out of Egypt as slaves, the leadership of Moses, the Israelites' emotional condition, and YHWH's character as one who is all-knowing, who leads, expects glory, and punishes his enemies. But the poem has a different emphasis—it draws attention to the Israelites as servants of YHWH, as a people who dwell with YHWH and are confident in YHWH's power. YHWH defeats his enemies, Israel is redeemed, and YHWH is the one who reigns forever. The Israelites remember that they were once slaves freed by YHWH (emphasized in the narrative) and that they belong to YHWH (emphasized in the poem). The Israelites know Moses as YHWH's leader (emphasized in the narrative), but not as a god (not mentioned in the poem). The Israelites remember their mental condition which vacillated between confidence and fear (emphasized in the narrative) and their confidence when acknowledging YHWH (emphasized in the poem). The Israelites know YHWH as the one who is all-knowing (emphasized in the narrative) and as the one who reigns forever (emphasized in the poem). YHWH teaches the people that he is their leader (emphasized in the narrative) and that he intends to dwell with his people (emphasized in the poem). The enemies know

that YHWH expects glory (emphasized in the narrative). The Israelites affirm that YHWH is to be glorified (emphasized in the poem) and that YHWH's power extends beyond the Egyptians (emphasized in the poem). The different emphases of each account paint a more complete picture of the Red Sea event than ever could be told by merely reading the narrative or the poem.

Further, each of these reasons have theological implications for how the Israelites will live and understand YHWH as they begin their life free from the bondage to Pharaoh and the Egyptians. The Israelites must remember that they had to depend on YHWH to deliver them from the Egyptians and that YHWH did so without any of their help. The Israelites understand that YHWH can use intermediaries, but ultimately, he is the only one deserving of honor.

In addition, when the Red Sea event is read in light of other ancient Near Eastern battle accounts, it further shows YHWH's greatness. YHWH does not share his glory with Moses, as Amun shares with Ramesses. YHWH alone is glorified for the Israelites' deliverance.

Finally, the different emphases between the Exodus narrative and poem, as noted in chapter eight, is not isolated in Exodus 13-15. Rather, as the Red Sea event is retold throughout Israelite history, different aspects are remembered in order to remind and teach the Israelites of just who YHWH is: the one who saves and protects his people.

9.4 CONCLUSION

The main research question of this study, namely, why does Exodus 13:17–14:31 and Exodus 15:1-18 describe the Red Sea event in different ways, can be answered as follows:

The Red Sea event in the narrative and poem differ because they were composed for different reasons. Namely, the narrative tells the reader where the Israelites come from, how Moses knows the way to take the Israelites out of Egypt, about the Israelites' experience of feeling confident when departing Egypt yet fearful when they saw their enemy chasing them as they encamped against the sea, and why YHWH had to punish the Egyptians. However, the poem points to the Israelites' future dwelling (it will be with YHWH), the Israelites' recognition that they are a people who belong to YHWH, and, although there will be others, no enemy can withstand YHWH's power.

9.5 SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE STUDIES

Further studies in this area should consider the following:

- Examining allusions to the Red Sea events in the Pentateuch, Prophets, and Wisdom and Poetry. This may reveal additional content about how the event formed the lives of the Israelites.
- Another area of study is examining how and when YHWH uses intermediaries to guide his people. In the Exodus narrative, Moses, the pillar of cloud, the angel of God, and the east wind, are used by YHWH to accomplish his purposes. However, the presence of these intermediaries varies in other Old Testament accounts of the Red Sea event.
- A final consideration for future study may be to expand the comparisons of other ancient Near Eastern battle accounts to the Red Sea event—this may reveal additional similarities and differences between the battle accounts.

APPENDIX

10.1 EXODUS 13:17–15:18: TRANSLATION AND NOTES

Exodus 13:17

וַיְהִי בְשַׁלַּח פְּרָעָה אֶת־הָעָם וְלֹא־נָחַם אֱלֹהִים דֶּרֶךְ אֶרֶץ פְּלִשְׁתִּים כִּי קָרוֹב הוּא כִּי אָמַר
אֱלֹהִים פְּנִינָחֵם הָעָם בְּרֹאֲתָם מִלְחָמָה וְשָׁבוּ מִצְרַיִם

And it came to pass when Pharaoh sent the people away Elohim did not lead them by the way of the land of the Philistines although it was near, because Elohim said lest the people repent when they see war and turn back to Egypt.

The temporal clause וַיְהִי followed by a Qal Infinitive construct form of the verb שַׁלַּח establishes the timeframe of the event. The text twice refers to the Israelites with a generic term הָעָם (“the people”) The use of הָעָם (“the people”) may hint that the people who leave are not just the Israelites, but a “mixed multitude” (Exodus 12:38). There is also a repetition of אֱלֹהִים (“Elohim”). Alexander (2017:263) notes that פְּלִשְׁתִּים (“Philistines”) “...is generally taken to denote the Sea Peoples who arrived on the Mediterranean coast of Palestine about 1200 BC...” The text also includes an *inclusio* with the wordplay of נָחַם (Qal perfect 3 ms with 3 mp suffix from נחם) in the phrase וְלֹא־נָחַם אֱלֹהִים (“and Elohim did not lead them”) and נָחַם (Niphal imperfect 3 ms from נחם) in the phrase פְּנִינָחֵם הָעָם (“lest the people repent”). The *inclusio* seems to draw attention to the importance and necessity of Elohim leading the people—Elohim will keep Israel from danger so they don’t return to Egypt.

Exodus 13:18

וַיֹּסֶב אֱלֹהִים אֶת־הָעָם דֶּרֶךְ הַמִּדְבָּר יַם־סוּף וַחֲמֹשִׁים עָלוּ בְנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם

But Elohim led the people by the way of the wilderness of the Red Sea and the Israelites went out from the land of Egypt armed for battle.

The text begins with the Hiphil form of the verb סָבַב for the phrase וַיֹּסֶב, thus emphasizing that it is Elohim who causes the Israelites’ departure. Scholars (Overstreet, 2003:64; Batto, 1983:34; Snaith, 1965:395) note that יַם־סוּף can be translated as “Red Sea,” “Sea of Reeds,” “Reedy Sea,” and “Sea of end” based on the route out of Egypt and whether יַם־סוּף refers to the name or description of the sea. The LXX records ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν “Red Sea” (Snaith, 1965:395). The verse indicates that the Israelites departed וַחֲמֹשִׁים, which could translate as

“armed for battle” or “orderly departure.” The LXX reads, πέμπτη δὲ γενεὰ (“and the fifth generation”) for וַחֲמִשִּׁים, and may point to the LXX’s emphasis on the time of departure rather than on the Israelites’ formation or preparedness for war.

Exodus 13:19

וַיִּקַּח מֹשֶׁה אֶת־עֲצָמוֹת יוֹסֵף עִמּוֹ כִּי הִשְׁבַּע הַשְּׂבִיעַ אֶת־בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל לֵאמֹר פִּקֹּד
יִפְקֹד אֱלֹהִים אֶתְכֶם וְהֵעֲלִיתֶם אֶת־עֲצָמֹתַי מִזֶּה אִתְּכֶם:

And Moses took Joseph’s bones with him for he certainly made the Israelites swear, saying Elohim will surely visit you and you will bring out my bones from this (place) with you.

There is a repetition of the verb שָׁבַע in the phrase כִּי הִשְׁבַּע הַשְּׂבִיעַ and both forms are Hiphil, the first is the Hiphil perfect 3ms, the second the Hiphil infinitive absolute. The repetition of the verb and the use of the Hiphil causative stem emphasize the verb’s action—Joseph made the Israelites swear. The vow is made between Joseph and בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל (“the Israelites”) and not with הָעָם (“the people”) as in verse 17. The specific reference to the Israelites may indicate that the promise was between Joseph and his brothers. The word פִּקֹּד also occurs twice in the phrase יִפְקֹד יִפְקֹד; the first occurrence is the Qal Infinitive Absolute, the second is Qal Imperfect 3ms. The repetition of פִּקֹּד, along with the use of the Infinitive Absolute, emphasizes the promise of a visitation from YHWH. The final verb in the sentence, וְהֵעֲלִיתֶם (“and you will bring out”), is in the Hiphil form, again suggesting that someone (that being YHWH) will cause the deliverance of the Israelites.

Exodus 13:20

וַיִּסְעוּ מִסֹּכֹת וַיַּחֲנוּ בְּאֵתֶם בְּקִצֵּה הַמִּדְבָּר

And they departed from Sukkoth and encamped by Etham by the edge of the wilderness.

The word הַמִּדְבָּר (“the wilderness”) is used once again (see v. 17) to indicate the geographic landscape. The Israelites’ route out of Egypt was not along a clear path; they were guided through the wilderness.

Exodus 13:21

וַיְהִי הַלַּיְלָה לִפְנֵיהֶם יוֹמָם בְּעַמּוּד עָנָן לְנַחֲתָם הַדֶּרֶךְ וְלַיְלָה בְּעַמּוּד אֵשׁ לְהָאִיר לָהֶם לְלֶכֶת יוֹמָם וְלַיְלָה

And YHWH went before them by day in a pillar of a cloud to lead them by day and at night by a pillar of fire to bring light for them so they could walk by day and night.

The tetragrammaton יהוה (YHWH) occurs here for the first time in the Red Sea narrative. The text describes YHWH as הלך, the one who went before the Israelites. Indeed, the verb הלך, most often translated as “walk,” provides a more descriptive account of YHWH as the one who walks with his people, leading them out of Egypt. YHWH leads his people with a physical representation of his presence בְּעַמּוּד עָנָן (“in a pillar of cloud”) and בְּעַמּוּד אֵשׁ (“by a pillar of fire”). ילך (“to go or to walk”) occurs at the end of the verse, this time referring to the Israelites walking by day and night. Thus, the Israelites can go out of the wilderness because YHWH leads his people.

Exodus 13:22

לֹא־יָמִישׁ עַמּוּד הָעָנָן יוֹמָם וְעַמּוּד הָאֵשׁ לַיְלָה לְפָנֵי הָעָם

He did not remove the pillar of cloud by day or the pillar of fire by night from before the people.

לֹא־יָמִישׁ (“He did not remove”) used in reference to the pillar of cloud and of fire reinforces once again that YHWH is in control. The movement of the pillar of the cloud and fire is not independent of YHWH’s will and purpose.

Exodus 14:1

וַיְדַבֵּר יְהוָה אֶל־מֹשֶׁה לֵאמֹר

And YHWH spoke to Moses saying

The narrative shifts from the report of the author to a direct divine speech וַיְדַבֵּר יְהוָה from YHWH to Moses.

Exodus 14:2

דַּבֵּר אֶל־בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיָּשׁוּבוּ וַיַּחֲנוּ לְפָנַי פִּי הַחִירֹת בֵּין מִגְדֹּל וּבֵין הַיָּם לְפָנַי בְּעַל צְפֹן נַחֲחוּ
תַחֲנוּ עַל־הַיָּם

Speak to the Israelites, that they will turn and encamp before Pi-Hahiroth, between Migdol and the sea before Baal-Zephon, before which they will encamp by the sea.

This verse includes a series of commands, דַּבֵּר (“speak”) וַיָּשׁוּבוּ וַיַּחֲנוּ (“that they turn and encamp”) possibly to communicate the seriousness of the instructions. The verse also includes specific names of sites along the route, פִּי הַחִירֹת (“Pi-Hahiroth”), מִגְדֹּל (“Migdol”), בְּעַל צְפֹן (“Baal-Zephon”) and the repetition of הַיָּם (“the sea”), thus ensuring that Moses knows

precisely where to lead the people. The LXX includes a variant of ἐπαύλεως (“the village”) (Moulton, 1978:150) for פִּי הַחִירוֹת (“Pi-Hahiroth”). Scholars are not in agreement as to whether פִּי הַחִירוֹת “Pi-Hahiroth” is a place name or a description of an area the Israelites encountered on their journey out of Egypt (Hoffmeier, 1996:170; Kaiser, 1998:103; Childs, 1974:150; Albright, 1948:16).

Exodus 14:3

וְאָמַר פַּרְעֹה לְבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל נִבְכִּים הֵם בְּאֶרֶץ סָגַר עָלֵיהֶם הַמִּדְבָּר

And Pharaoh will say concerning the Israelites, “they are wandering in the land the wilderness has shut up upon them.”

This verse introduces a new subject with a Qal perfect 3ms verb, followed by the subject Pharaoh, וְאָמַר פַּרְעֹה (“And Pharaoh will say”). The phrase לְבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל (“concerning the Israelites”) does record to whom Pharaoh speaks. However, the LXX identifies Pharaoh’s audience as the Egyptians by including the phrase τῷ λαῷ αὐτοῦ (“to his people”).

Exodus 14:4

וְחִזַּקְתִּי אֶת־לֵב־פַּרְעֹה וְרָדַף אַחֲרֵיהֶם וְאֶכְבְּדָהּ בְּפַרְעֹה וּבְכָל־חֵילוֹ וַיִּדְעוּ מִצְרַיִם כִּי־אֲנִי יְהוָה וַיַּעֲשׂוּ־כֵן

And I will harden the heart of Pharaoh and he will pursue after them and I will gain glory over Pharaoh and all his host, and the Egyptians will know that I am YHWH. And they did so.

The 1cs suffix on וְחִזַּקְתִּי (“and I will harden”), the 1cs prefix on וְאֶכְבְּדָהּ (“and I will gain glory”), and the independent personal pronoun 1cs אֲנִי (“I”) each draw attention to YHWH and what he intends to do to Pharaoh. There is a repetition of פַּרְעֹה (“Pharaoh”), and, in each case, Pharaoh is overpowered by YHWH.

Exodus 14:5

וַיִּגַד לְמֶלֶךְ מִצְרַיִם כִּי בָרַח הָעָם וַיְהִי־לֵב פַּרְעֹה וְעַבְדָּיו אֶל־הָעָם וַיֹּאמְרוּ מַה־זֹּאת עָשִׂינוּ כִּי־שַׁלַּחְנוּ אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל מִעַבְדֵּינוּ

And it was reported to the King of Egypt that the people had fled, and the heart of Pharaoh and his servants was changed toward the people. And they said, “What is this we have done by sending away the Israelites from serving us?”

The verse begins with וַיִּגַּד (“and it was reported”) to the King of Egypt. The text does not reveal whether the person giving the report was a military official or another advisor to the king. The title מֶלֶךְ מִצְרַיִם (“the King of Egypt”) occurs here for the first time in the Red Sea narrative, but not for the first time in the Exodus account; it first appears in Exodus 1:15. The verse records the Israelites departure using the word בָּרַח (“to flee”) which some scholars have understood to mean “escape” (see the discussion above in chapter four, 4.2.2.3). There is a repetition of the root עבד emphasizing the Israelite’s role as servants to Pharaoh and the Egyptians.

Exodus 14:6

וַיַּאֲסֵר אֶת־רֶכֶבוֹ וְאֶת־עַמּוֹ לָקַח עִמּוֹ

And he made ready his chariot and he took with him his people.

Pharaoh’s response is highlighted by the repetition of the 3ms prefix or suffix:

- וַיַּאֲסֵר Qal Imperfect 3ms
- רֶכֶבוֹ and עַמּוֹ are masculine singular nouns each with a 3ms suffix
- לָקַח is Qal perfect 3ms.
- עִמּוֹ is a preposition with a 3ms suffix

Exodus 14:7

וַיִּקַּח יִשְׁמָאוֹת רֶכֶב בַּחֹר וְכָל רֶכֶב מִצְרַיִם וְשָׁלְשָׁם עַל־כֵּלָיו

And he took 600 hundred choice chariots and all the chariots of Egypt and a captain over every one of them.

וְשָׁלְשָׁם can refer to both “military function or rank’ and ‘a three-man squad” (Beysse, 1974:125). This is discussed above in chapter four, 4.2.2.4.

Exodus 14:8

וַיַּחֲזֵק יְהוָה אֶת־לֵב פַּרְעֹה מֶלֶךְ מִצְרַיִם וַיִּרְדֹּף אַחֲרָיו בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וּבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל יֵצְאוּ בְיַד רָמָה

And YHWH hardened the heart of Pharaoh, the King of Egypt and he pursued after the Israelites and the Israelites went out with a high hand.

The phrase בְּיַד רָמָה (“with a high hand”) possibly indicates the Israelites leaving the land of Egypt with “confidence” or “defiance” (Ashley, 1993:288).

Exodus 14:9

וַיִּרְדְּפוּ מִצְרַיִם אַחֲרֵיהֶם וַיִּשְׁיגּוּ אוֹתָם חֲנִימִים עַל־הֵימָּם כָּל־סוֹס רֶכֶב פָּרְעֹה וּפָרָשָׁיו וְחִילוֹ
עַל־פִּי הַחִירֹת לִפְנֵי בַעַל צֶפֶן

And the Egyptians pursued after them and they overtook them encamping by the sea, all the horses (and) chariots of Pharaoh and his horsemen and his army (came) upon Pi-Hahiroth before Baal Zephon.

The Hiphil form of the verb וַיִּשְׁיגּוּ reinforces that YHWH is the one who causes the Egyptians to overtake the Israelites.

Exodus 14:10

וּפָרְעֹה הִקְרִיב וַיִּשְׂאוּ בְנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶת־עֵינֵיהֶם וַהֲנִיחַ מִצְרַיִם נֹסַע אַחֲרֵיהֶם וַיִּירָאוּ מְאֹד
וַיִּצְעֲקוּ בְנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶל־יְהוָה

And Pharaoh drew near, and the Israelites lifted their eyes and behold the Egyptians were marching after them and they were very afraid, and the Israelites cried out to YHWH.

The phrase וַיִּצְעֲקוּ מְאֹד וַיִּירָאוּ (“and they feared greatly and cried out”) confirms what has been reported in Exodus 13:17: the Israelites fear war.

Exodus 14:11

וַיֹּאמְרוּ אֶל־מֹשֶׁה הַמִּבְּלִי אֵין־קְבָרִים בְּמִצְרַיִם לְקַחְתָּנוּ לְמוֹת בַּמִּדְבָּר מֵהֶ־
זֹאת עָשִׂיתָ לָּנוּ לְהוֹצִיאָנוּ מִמִּצְרַיִם

And the Israelites said to Moses “Was it because there were no graves in Egypt that you have taken us to die in the wilderness? Why have you done this to us, by bringing us out from Egypt?”

The verse includes the use of two interrogatives, הַמִּבְּלִי (“was it because”) and מֵה־זֹּאת (“what is this”). Thus the Israelites demand that Moses explain why they are in this predicament. The repetition of the 2ms with the phrase לְקַחְתָּנוּ (“you have taken us”), along with the Hiphil form לְהוֹצִיאָנוּ, indicates that they blame Moses, not YHWH, for their situation. The repetition of words related to the end of life such as קְבָרִים (“graves”) and מוֹת (“death”) further indicates that they expect to die.

Exodus 14:12

הֲלֹא־זֶה הַדְּבָר אֲשֶׁר דִּבַּרְנוּ אֵלֶיךָ בְּמִצְרַיִם לֵאמֹר חַדְל מִמְּנוּ וְנַעֲבֹדָה אֶת־
מִצְרַיִם כִּי טוֹב לָנוּ עֲבַד אֶת־מִצְרַיִם מִמָּתְנוּ בַּמִּדְבָּר

“Is not this the word we spoke to you when in Egypt saying, ‘Leave us alone so we may serve the Egyptians, for it is better for us to continue serving the Egyptians than to die in the wilderness.’”

The record of חַדְל מִמְּנוּ (“leave us alone”) along with the Qal cohortative 1cp form וְנַעֲבֹדָה (“that we may serve”) suggests that Moses had to implore the Israelites to leave Egypt.

Exodus 14:13

וַיֹּאמֶר מֹשֶׁה אֶל־הָעָם אַל־תִּירְאוּ הַתִּיצְבוּ וְרֵאוּ אֶת־יְשׁוּעַת יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר־יַעֲשֶׂה לָכֶם הַיּוֹם
כִּי אֲשֶׁר רְאִיתֶם אֶת־מִצְרַיִם הַיּוֹם לֹא תִסִּיפוּ לִרְאֹתָם עוֹד עַד־עוֹלָם

And Moses said to the people, “Do not fear, stand still, and see the salvation of YHWH which he will do for you today, for the Egyptians you see today, no longer will you see them forever and ever.”

The repetition of the verb רָאָה (“to see”) draws attention to what the Israelites see, וְרֵאוּ אֶת־ (“for the Egyptians you see”) כִּי אֲשֶׁר רְאִיתֶם אֶת־מִצְרַיִם (“and see the salvation of YHWH”) יְשׁוּעַת יְהוָה (“no longer will you see them”).

Exodus 14:14

יְהוָה יִלָּחֶם לָכֶם וְאַתֶּם תַּחֲרִישׁוּן

YHWH will fight for you, and you be still.

The last three words of this verse each use the 2mp “you.” YHWH fights לָכֶם (“for you”), the preposition *lamed* with 2mp suffix, וְאַתֶּם (“and you”), the independent personal pronoun with 2mp suffix and תַּחֲרִישׁוּן (“you be still”) Hiphil imperfect 2mp with paragogic nun.

Exodus 14:16

וְאַתָּה הָרֶם אֶת־מִטְּךָ וְנָטָה אֶת־יָדְךָ עַל־הַיָּם וּבִקְעָהוּ וַיָּבֵאוּ בְנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּתוֹךְ הַיָּם בַּיַּבָּשָׁה

And you lift up your rod and stretch out your hand over the sea and divide it so the Israelites can go into the midst of the sea on dry ground.

Again, there is a repetition of you, but this time, the emphasis is on YHWH's instructions to Moses וְאַתָּה ("and you") and יָדְךָ ("your hand"). The phrases וּנְטֵה ("and stretch") and וּבְקַעְהוּ ("and divide it") are each in the imperative, reinforcing that YHWH's instructions to Moses must be obeyed.

Exodus 14:17

וְאֲנִי הִנְנִי מְחַזֵּק אֶת־לֵב מִצְרַיִם וַיָּבֹאוּ אַחֲרֵיהֶם וְאֶכְבְּדָהּ בְּפָרְעָה וּבְכָל־חֵילוֹ בְּרִכְבוֹ וּבַפָּרָשָׁיו

And I, behold I will harden the Egyptians' hearts so they will come after them, and I will gain glory over Pharaoh and over his chariots and his horsemen.

This is the first reference to YHWH as the one who מְחַזֵּק אֶת־לֵב מִצְרַיִם ("hardens the Egyptians hearts"), perhaps to reinforce that YHWH judges the entire community, not just Pharaoh.

Exodus 14:18

וַיֵּדְעוּ מִצְרַיִם כִּי־אֲנִי יְהוָה בְּהַכְבְּדִי בְּפָרְעָה בְּרִכְבוֹ וּבַפָּרָשָׁיו

Then the Egyptians will know that I am YHWH when I have gained glory over Pharaoh, over his chariots and over his horsemen.

The inseparable preposition בְּ ("over, by, against") occurs on the last four words, בְּפָרְעָה ("Pharaoh"), בְּרִכְבוֹ ("chariot"), and וּבַפָּרָשָׁיו ("horseman"), perhaps to reinforce YHWH's intention to defeat Pharaoh and his entire military.

Exodus 14:19

וַיֵּסַע מִלְּאֲךָ הָאֱלֹהִים הַהַלֵּךְ לִפְנֵי מַחֲנֵה יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיֵּלֶךְ מֵאַחֲרֵיהֶם וַיֵּסַע עַמּוּד הָעָנָן מִפְּנֵיהֶם וַיַּעֲמֵד מֵאַחֲרֵיהֶם

Then departed the angel of Elohim from going before the Israelite camp and walked behind them, and the pillar of cloud departed from before them and stood behind them.

Some scholars (Propp, 1999:480; Childs, 1974:221-222; and Driver, 1911:30) argue the references to both מִלְּאֲךָ הָאֱלֹהִים ("angel of God") and עַמּוּד הָעָנָן ("the pillar of cloud") represent two different traditions, E source for "angel of God" and J for "the pillar of cloud."

Exodus 14:20

וַיָּבֹא בֵּין מַחֲנֵה מִצְרַיִם וּבֵין מַחֲנֵה יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיְהִי הָעָנָן וְהַחֹשֶׁךְ וַיָּאָר אֶת־הַלַּיְלָה וְלֹא־
קָרַב זֶה אֶל־זֶה כָּל־הַלַּיְלָה

And it went between the Egyptian camp and the Israelite camp, and it came to pass the cloud and the darkness, and it caused light for the night and not (came) near each one to the other all through the night.

The text shows that הָעָנָן (“the cloud”) is no ordinary cloud, it has the ability to bring both darkness and light at the same time.

Exodus 14:21

וַיִּט מֹשֶׁה אֶת־יָדוֹ עַל־הַיָּם וַיּוֹלֶךְ יְהוָה אֶת־הַיָּם בְּרוּחַ קָדִים עֲזָה כָּל־הַלַּיְלָה וַיִּשָּׂם אֶת־
הַיָּם לַחֲרָבָה וַיִּבְקְעוּ הַמַּיִם

And Moses stretched forth his hand over the sea and YHWH caused the sea moved the sea back by a strong east wind all through the night and he made the sea dry ground, and the waters were divided.

בְּרוּחַ קָדִים (“east wind”) is not reflected in the LXX. The LXX instead reads ἐν ἀνέμῳ νότῳ (“south wind”). Theissen (1992:253) argues this may be due to the Egyptian experience of hot winds coming “from the south.” He states,

Egypt experienced the hot *chasim* from the south. Therefore, the Septuagint translates the “east wind” of the Hebrew text either neutrally with “scorching wind,” not mentioning any compass direction...or else it makes the Hebrew “east wind” a “south wind” (as in Exod 10:13; cf. Exod 14:21; Job 38:24; Ps 78:26; Ezek 27:26).

Exodus 14:22

וַיָּבֹאוּ בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּתוֹךְ הַיָּם בַּיַּבֶּשֶׁה וְהַמַּיִם לָהֶם חֹמָה מִיְמִינָם וּמִשְׂמָאלָם

And the Israelites went into the midst of the sea on dry ground and the waters were a wall on their right and their left for them.

Although חֹמָה (“a wall”) is singular, it represents two sides, a wall on the left and right.

Exodus 14:23

וַיִּרְדְּפוּ מִצְרַיִם וַיָּבֵאוּ אַחֲרֵיהֶם כָּל סוּס פָּרְעֹה רֶכֶב וּפָרָשָׁיו אֶל־תּוֹךְ הַיָּם

And the Egyptians pursued [the Israelites] and they came after them all Pharaoh's horses, his chariots and his horsemen into the midst of the sea.

There is once again repetition of the 3ms suffix on רֶכֶב (“chariot”) and פָּרָשׁ (“horseman”) perhaps to reinforce that the military belongs to or is under Pharaoh’s authority.

Exodus 14:24

וַיְהִי בְּאַשְׁמֹרֶת הַבֹּקֶר וַיִּשְׁקֹף יְהוָה אֶל־מַחֲנֵה מִצְרַיִם בְּעֵמוּד אֵשׁ וְעָנָן וַיַּהֲרֹם אֶת מַחֲנֵה מִצְרַיִם

And it came to pass in the morning watch that YHWH looked at the Egyptian camp through the pillar of fire and cloud and troubled the Egyptian camp.

וַיִּשְׁקֹף (“and he [YHWH] looked”) is in the Hiphil form. What causes YHWH to look is not evident. The reference “to look” may indicate that YHWH is about to act since he knows the circumstances of the Egyptians and the Israelites.

Exodus 14:25

וַיִּסַּר אֶת אַפְּן מִרְכַּבְתָּיו וַיִּנְהֲגוּ בְּכִבְדָּת וַיֹּאמֶר מִצְרַיִם אָנוּסָה מִפְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל כִּי יְהוָה נֹלָחֵם לָהֶם בְּמִצְרַיִם

And (YHWH) turned the wheel of their chariots so that they drove heavily, and the Egyptians said, let us flee from before the Israelites because YHWH fights for them against the Egyptians.

וַיִּסַּר is in the Hiphil form, possibly pointing to YHWH as the one who caused the turning of the Egyptian wheel so that וַיִּנְהֲגוּ בְּכִבְדָּת (“they drove heavily”). אָנוּסָה (“let us flee”) is in the Cohortative and draws attention now to the helplessness of the Egyptian military—they can no longer pursue the Israelites. The Egyptians must retreat to save their own lives.

Exodus 14:26

וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל־מֹשֶׁה נָטָה אֶת־יָדְךָ עַל־הַיָּם וַיָּשִׁבוּ הַיָּם עַל־מִצְרַיִם עַל־רֶכֶב וְעַל־פָּרָשָׁיו

Then YHWH said to Moses, “Stretch out your hand over the sea so that the sea can return over the Egyptians, over their chariots, and their horsemen.”

וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה (“Then YHWH said”): For the final direct divine speech to Moses, YHWH gives Moses instructions to ensure that the Egyptians will die in the sea.

Exodus 14:27

וַיִּט מֹשֶׁה אֶת־יָדוֹ עַל־הַיָּם וַיָּשָׁב הַיָּם לַפְּנוֹת בִּקְרַח לְאִיתָנוּ וּמִצְרַיִם נָסִים לִקְרֹאתוֹ
וַיִּנְעַר יְהוָה אֶת־מִצְרַיִם בְּתוֹךְ הַיָּם

And Moses stretched out his hand over the sea. And the sea returned to its normal state in the morning and the Egyptians were running to meet it and YHWH overthrew the Egyptians in the midst of the sea.

וַיִּנְעַר יְהוָה אֶת־מִצְרַיִם בְּתוֹךְ הַיָּם (“to meet it [the waters]”) may indicate that the Egyptians’ panic in the water as well as show that there was nowhere to escape because they were overtaken entirely in the waters.

Exodus 14:28

וַיָּשָׁבוּ הַמַּיִם וַיִּכְסּוּ אֶת־הָרֶכֶב וְאֶת־הַפָּרָשִׁים לְכָל חֵיל פְּרָעָה הַבָּאִים אַחֲרֵיהֶם בַּיָּם לֹא־
נִשְׂאָר בָּהֶם עַד־אַחַד

And the waters returned and covered the chariots and the horsemen and all the host of Pharaoh that went after them into the sea, not even one remained among them.

The phrase לֹא־נִשְׂאָר (“not one remained”) indicates that YHWH has achieved complete victory over his enemy.

Exodus 14:29

וּבְגִי יִשְׂרָאֵל הָלְכוּ בַיַּבֵּשָׁה בְּתוֹךְ הַיָּם וְהַמַּיִם לָהֶם חֹמָה מִיְמִינָם וּמִשְׂמָאלָם

But the Israelites walked on dry ground in the midst of the sea and the waters were for them a wall on their right and their left.

בַּיַּבֵּשָׁה (“on dry ground”): The drying of the ground is another miraculous result of the dividing of the sea.

Exodus 14:30

וַיֹּשַׁע יְהוָה בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל מִיַּד מִצְרַיִם וַיִּרְא יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶת־מִצְרַיִם מֵת עַל־שְׂפַת הַיָּם

And YHWH saved Israel on that day from the hand of the Egyptians, and the Israelites saw the Egyptians dead along the seashore of the sea.

The word *יִשְׂרָאֵל* is in the Hiphil; it is YHWH who causes Israel's salvation. The word *יִשְׂרָאֵל* ("Israel") occurs here for the first time as a reference to the Israelites. All other occurrences were *הָעָם* ("the people") or *בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל* ("the Israelites"). Perhaps this is a hint of their national identity. The people are saved from the *מִיַּד מִצְרַיִם* ("from the hand/power of the Egyptians"). Again, YHWH frees his people from the Egyptians' authority, not just Pharaoh's. There is another reference to the Israelites *וַיִּרְאוּ* ("seeing") the Egyptians, but this time, the Egyptians are dead and no longer a threat to the Israelites.

Exodus 14:31

*וַיִּרְא יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶת־הַיָּד הַגְּדֹלָה אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה יְהוָה בְּמִצְרַיִם וַיִּירָאוּ הָעָם אֶת־יְהוָה
וַיֶּאֱמִינוּ בַיהוָה וּבְמֹשֶׁה עַבְדּוֹ*

And Israel saw the great power of YHWH which YHWH did against Egypt, and the people feared YHWH and they believed in YHWH and in Moses his servant.

There are three references to *יְהוָה* YHWH in the closing verse, emphasizing the Israelites' recognition of YHWH as the one who saved them and Moses as his servant.

Exodus 15:1

*אָז יָשִׁיר־מֹשֶׁה וּבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶת־הַשִּׁירָה הַזֹּאת לַיהוָה וַיֹּאמְרוּ לְאָמֵר
אֶשִׁירָה לַיהוָה
כִּי־גָאָה גָאָה
סוֹס וְרֹכֵבוֹ
רָמָה בַיָּם*

Then sang Moses and the children of Israel this song to YHWH. And they said saying, I will sing to YHWH for he is highly exalted; the horse and his rider he has thrown into the sea.

A temporal clause *אָז* begins the line that introduces the poem. The verse includes a repetition of the root *שָׁר* ("to sing"), which occurs in the form of a verb (*יָשִׁיר*), as a noun (*אֶת־הַשִּׁירָה*), and then once again as a verb (*אֶשִׁירָה*). The poem itself starts in Exodus 15:1b with the phrase *אֶשִׁירָה* ("I will sing"), showing that each person sings (collectively) to YHWH. There is a repetition of *גָאָה*, emphasizing YHWH's greatness, then the defeat of the enemy

סוּס וְרֹכְבוֹ רָמָה (“the horse, and his chariot and rider”) are thrown down in the sea. Thus, the Israelites celebrate YHWH for his complete defeat of their enemy.

Exodus 15:2

עָזִי וְזַמְרָתִי יְהוָה
וַיְהִי־לִי לִישׁוּעָה
זֶה אֱלֹהֵי וְאֲנִי
אֱלֹהֵי אָבִי וְאֶרְמְמָנָהּ

YHWH is my strength and my song, and he has become to me my salvation, this is my God, and I will prepare him a habitation, my father’s God and I will exalt him.

βουθός is a text variant for עָזִי so that the text can be read as “my defense.” The verse includes alliteration, as nearly every word begins with an *aleph*. The emphasis on the 1st person again draws attention to the fact that each Israelite is celebrating YHWH.

Exodus 15:3

יְהוָה אִישׁ מִלְחָמָה
יְהוָה שְׁמוֹ

YHWH is a warrior; YHWH is his name.

The repetition of YHWH emphasizes the Israelites recognition that YHWH is the one who fights for his people.

Exodus 15:4

מִרְכַּבַּת פָּרְעֹה וַחֲבִילוֹ
יָרָה בַיָּם
וּמִבְּחַר שְׁלִשׁוֹ טָבְעוּ בַיָּם־סוּף

Pharaoh’s chariots and host he threw in the sea, and his choice chariots are drowned in the Red Sea.

The verse stresses the defeat of Pharaoh’s army by twice describing the defeat by water—they are יָרָה בַיָּם (“thrown down in the sea”) and טָבְעוּ בַיָּם־סוּף (“drowned in the Red Sea”).

Exodus 15:5

תְּהַמַּת יִכְסִימוּ
יִרְדּוּ בְּמַצּוֹלַת כְּמוֹ-אֶבֶן

The depths covered them, they went down to the bottom like stone.

תְּהַמַּת and בְּמַצּוֹלַת (“depths” and “bottom”) emphasize the sinking of the Egyptians.

Exodus 15:6

יְמִינְךָ יְהוָה
נִאֲדָרְךָ בַּכַּחַח
יְמִינְךָ יְהוָה
תִּרְעַץ אוֹיֵב

Your right hand oh Lord is great in strength

Your right hand oh Lord has shattered the enemy

There is a repetition of יְמִינְךָ יְהוָה drawing attention to YHWH’s power over his enemy.

Exodus 15:7

וּבְרַב גְּאוֹנְךָ תַהַרְס קִמְיָךְ
תִּשְׁלַח חֲרֹנְךָ
יֵאכְלְמוּ כַקֶּשׁ

And in the greatness of your majesty you throw down the ones who rise up against you. You send forth your anger; they are consumed like rubble.

YHWH not only destroys his enemy, but he also punishes them by throwing them down and consuming them like rubble. The enemy is no match for YHWH.

Exodus 15:8

וּבְרוּחַ אַפְיָךְ
נִעְרְמוּ מִים
נִצְבּוּ כְמוֹ-נֵד נְזִלִים

קָפְאוּ תְהִמַּת בְּלִבֵּי־ים

And with the blast of your nostrils the waters were gathered, the floods stood like a heap, the depths were congealed in the heart of the sea.

This verse emphasizes what happens with YHWH's creation when his wind blasts—the waters stop their natural course, they pile up, floods stand like a heap, the waters congeal. In other words, YHWH's creation responds to YHWH's presence.

Exodus 15:9

אָמַר אוֹיֵב
אֶרְדֹּף אֲשִׁיג
אֶחְלַק שְׁלָל
תִּמְלֵאמוּ נַפְשֵׁי
אֶרְיֵק חַרְבִּי
תִּוְרִישְׁמוּ יָדַי

The enemy said, "I will pursue I will overtake; I will divide the spoil, my soul will be filled with them. I will empty/draw my sword. My hand will destroy them."

There is an emphasis on words that use the first person. The verse also includes an example of alliteration, as the first five words begin with an *aleph*. The text undoubtedly draws attention to the voice and declaration of the enemy.

Exodus 15:10

נִשְׁפָּתָ בְרוּחֲךָ
בִּסְמוּיָם
צָלְלוּ כְּעוֹפְרֹת
בְּמֵי־אֲדִירִים

You blew your wind, the sea, it covered them, they sank like lead into the great waters.

This verse emphasizes what happens after YHWH blows his wind. The sea covers his enemies, the enemies sank like lead. There is an emphasis on the water defeating the Egyptians: יָם ("the sea") covers them and the enemy sinks like lead בְּמַיִם ("into the water").

Exodus 15:11

מִי־כַמְכָּה
בְּאֵלִים יְהוָה
מִי כַמְכָּה
נֶאֱדָר בְּקֹדֶשׁ
נוֹרָא תְהִלָּת
עֲשֵׂה פִלְא

Who is like you among the gods, oh Lord, who is like you, glorious in holiness, awesome in praises, doing wonders?

Two interrogatives are used to point the listener to the majesty of YHWH. The first question sets the stage: who is like you among the gods? The second question concludes with a repetition of YHWH's greatness. He is not only holy but glorious in holiness, not just praiseworthy but awesome. He does not just act, but he does wonders.

Exodus 15:12

נָטִיתָ יְמִינְךָ
תִּבְלַעְמוּ אֶרֶץ

You stretched forth your right hand; the earth swallowed them up.

The song continues, this time emphasizing the acts of YHWH's right hand, which cause the earth to destroy his enemies. This verse again draws attention to YHWH's power, as it only takes his right hand to destroy the enemy. Verse 12 seems to continue to respond to the question in verse 11: who is like you?

Exodus 15:13

נָחִיתָ בְּחֹסְדְּךָ
עַם־זוֹ גָּאֳלָתָ

גַּהֲלֹת בְּעֶזְךָ
אֶל-נְוֵה קִדְשֶׁךָ

You lead with your lovingkindness this people you have redeemed; you lead by your strength to your holy dwelling.

There is a series of words using the 2nd ms forms, each drawing attention to what YHWH does for his people. Verse 13 shows that YHWH does not just fight for his people but also desires a relationship with them. Therefore, he redeems them from their enemy and leads them to his holy dwelling place.

Exodus 15:14

שָׁמְעוּ עַמִּים יִרְגָזוּן
חֵיל אַחֲזוּ יִשְׁבִי פְּלִשְׁתִּים

The people will hear, they will be afraid; sorrow will seize the inhabitants of Philistines.

The verse introduces what happens when they hear, although it is not clear if what they hear is the destruction of Egypt or the greatness of YHWH. The people experience two responses to what they hear: they feel fear and sorrow seizes them. The verse moves from a generic reference of עַמִּים (“people”) to specifically identifying the people as the Philistines.

Exodus 15:15

אֶז נִבְהָלוּ
אֱלוֹפֵי אֲדוֹם
אֵילֵי מוֹאָב
יֶאֱחֶזְמוּ רָעַד
נִמְגּוּ כָל
יִשְׁבֵי כְנָעַן

Then the captains of Edom will be amazed, the mighty men of Moab, trembling will seize them, all the inhabitants of Canaan will melt away

Verse 15 continues to describe what happens to the enemies. Here the emphasis is on the fighting men: the captains of Edom and mighty men of Moab are no match for YHWH. Edom is amazed, trembling overtakes the mighty men and all the inhabitants—this time the focus

is on Canaan—are no match for YHWH, they melt away. Thus, verses 15 and 16 emphasize the destruction of the fighting men and all other occupants of the land. There is an example of alliteration as the first three lines began with an *aleph*.

Exodus 15:16

תפל עליהם אימתה ופחד
בגדל זרועך ידמו כאבן
עד־יעבר עמך יהוה
עד־יעבר עם־זו קנית

Fear and dread will fall upon them, by the greatness of your arm they will be like stone, until your people pass over oh YHWH, until this people you purchased pass over.

The enemies are **כָּאֲבֶן** like stone, immovable. However, the Israelites move, they pass over. The reference to stone is similar to the reference to stone in verse 5. But the stone sinks in verse 5, for verse 16 the stone is still. There is a repetition of the phrase **עַד־יַעְבֵּר** (“until they pass over”), which once again draws attention to the Israelites movement. The verse also emphasizes that the people belonging to YHWH, the first reference to the noun **עַם** (“the people”) includes the 2ms suffix and the second occurrence of **עַם** with a 2ms demonstrative pronoun **זו** points to the specific group of people, the Israelites.

Exodus 15:17

תבאמו ותטעמו
בהר נחלתך
מכון לשבתך
פעלת יהוה
מקדש אדני
בוננו ידיך

You will bring them and plant them in the mountain of your inheritance the place of your dwelling the place oh YHWH your hand established.

A series of 2ms verb forms and 2ms suffixes on nouns are used throughout this verse to emphasize YHWH's deeds. The verb **תִּבְאֵמוּ** is in the Hiphil and indicates that it is YHWH who causes his people to be brought to his dwelling place. The place of YHWH's dwelling is described as the "mountain of your inheritance" and a place established by YHWH, pointing to the holiness of the site.

Exodus 15:18

יְהוָה יִמְלֹךְ
לְעֹלָם וָעֶד

YHWH will reign forever and ever.

The Israelites acknowledge that YHWH reigns, but his reign, unlike that of the Egyptian kings (who believe they are gods), lasts forever.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Albright, W.F. 1948. Exploring in Sinai with the University of California African Expedition. *Bulletin of American Schools of Oriental Research*, 109:5–20.
- Alexander, T.D. 2017. *Exodus*. Downers Grove: IL: InterVarsity Press. (Apollos Old Testament Commentaries, 2).
- Alexander, T.D. 2002. *From paradise to the promised land*. 2nd ed. London: Paternoster.
- Aling, C. 1981. *Egypt and the Bible History from the earliest times to 1000 B.C.* Grand Rapids, MI: Baker House.
- Allen, J. 2002. *The Heqanakht papyri*. New York, NY: The Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Alter, R. 2011a. *The art of biblical narrative*. New York, NY: Basic Books.
- Alter, R. 2011b. *The art of biblical poetry*. New York, NY: Basic Books.
- Anderson, B.W. & Bishop, S. 2000. *Out of the depths*. Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press.
- Anderson, B.W. 1994. *From creation to new creation*. Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock.
- Ashby, G. 1998. *Go out and meet God*. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans.
- Ashley, T. 1993. *Numbers*. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans. (The New International Commentary on the Old Testament).
- Assmann, J. 2005. *Death and salvation in ancient Egypt*. Translated from German by David Lorton. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Auld, A.G. 2011. *I-II Samuel: a commentary*. Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press. (Old Testament Library).
- Avishur, Y. 1994. *Studies in Hebrew and Ugaritic psalms*. Jerusalem: The Magnes Press.
- Bachra, B. 2002. Structural regularities in the story of the passage through the sea. *Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament*, 16(2):246-263.
- Baden, J. 2012. *The composition of the Pentateuch: renewing the documentary hypothesis*. New Haven, CT: Yale University.

Barton, J. 1992. Source criticism. In: Freedman, D.N., ed. *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, vol. 6. New York: NY: Doubleday. p. 62.

Batto, B. 1983. The Reed Sea: requiescat in pace. *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 102(1):27-35.

Beal, T. 1992. Ideology and intertextuality: surplus of meaning and controlling the means of production. In: Fewell, D.N., ed. *Reading between the texts: Intertextuality and the Hebrew Bible*. Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox. pp. 27-40.

Beale, G.K. 1984. *An exegetical and theological consideration of the hardening of Pharaoh's heart in Exodus 4-14 and Romans 9*. Trinity Journal, 5:129-154.

Berman, J. 2017. *Inconsistency in the Torah: ancient literary convention and the limits of source criticism*. New York, NY: Oxford University.

Beyse, K.M. 2006. שָׁלַח. In: Botterwerk, G. J., Ringgren, H., Fabry, H. J., eds. *Theological dictionary of the Old Testament*. Vol xv. Translated from German by David E. Green. Grand Rapids: MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans. p.125.

Bimson, J. 1981. *Redating the Exodus and Conquest*. Sheffield: UK: Almond Press.

Blackburn, W.R. 2012. *The God who makes himself known: The missionary heart of the book of Exodus*. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press. (New Studies in Biblical Theology, 28).

Bloch, Y & Peri, L. 2016. I placed my name there: The great inscription of Tukulti-Ninurta I. *Israel museum studies in archaeology*, 8:2-56.

Breneman, M. 1993. Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther. Nashville, TN: Broadman & Holman. (The New American Commentary, 10).

Brenner, M. 2012. *The song of the sea: Ex. 15:1–21*. Berlin: de Gruyter. Available from DeGruyter eBooks: <https://www.degruyter.com/document/doi/10.1515/9783110867220/html>
Date of Access: Jan 12, 2021.

Brown, F., Driver, S., Briggs, C. 2001. *The Brown, Driver, Briggs, Hebrew and English lexicon: with an appendix containing the biblical Aramaic: Coded with the numbering system from Strong's exhaustive concordance of the Bible*. Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson.

Bruckner, J. 2012. *Exodus*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic. (Understanding the Bible Commentary Series).

Brueggemann, W. 1994. *The book of Exodus*. Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press. (The New Interpreter's Bible, 1).

Butts, A.M. 2010. A note on ne'dari in Ex 15:6. *Vetus Testamentum*, 60(2):167-171.

Carr, D. 2012. The many uses of intertextuality in biblical studies: actual and potential. *Supplements to Vetus Testamentum*, 148:505-536.

Cassuto, U. 1967. *A commentary on the book of Exodus*. Translated from Hebrew by Israel Abrahams. Jerusalem: Magnes Press.

Cassuto, U. 1961. *The documentary hypothesis and the composition of the Pentateuch*. Translated from Hebrew by Israel Abrahams. Jerusalem: Magnes Press.

Childs, B. 1974. *The book of Exodus*. Louisville, KY: Westminster.

Chirichigno, G. 2009. *Debt-slavery in Israel and the ancient Near East*. Sheffield: Sheffield Press.

Clements, R. 1972. *Exodus*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (Cambridge Bible Commentary on the Old Testament).

Coats, G. 1969. The Song of the sea. *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly*. 31(1):1-17.

Cole, R.A. 2016. *Exodus: an introduction and commentary*. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press. (Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries, 2).

Cox, L. 1969. *Genesis-Deuteronomy*. Kansas City, MO: Beacon Hill Press. (Beacon Bible Commentary, 1)

Craigie, P.C. 1970. An Expression in the Song of the Sea (XV 4). *Vetus Testamentum*, 20(1):83-86.

Creager and Alleman. 1948. *The Psalms*. In: *Old Testament commentary*, eds. Alleman, Herbert C. & Flack, Elmer E. Philadelphia: PA: The Muhlenberg Press. pp. 528-594.

Cross, F. 1968. The song of the sea and Canaanite myth. *Journal for Theology and the Church*, 5:1-25.

Cross, F. Jr. & Freedman, D.N. 1955. The song of Miriam. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 14(4):237-250.

Currid, J. 2013. *Against the gods: the polemical theology of the Old Testament*. Wheaton, IL: Crossway.

Currid, J. 2000. *Exodus chapters 1-18*. Darlington: Evangelical Press. (Evangelical Press Study Commentary, 1).

Davies, G.H. 1967. *Exodus: Introduction and commentary*. London: SCM Press. (Torch Bible Commentaries, 3).

Davies, G.I. 2020. *Exodus 1-18: a critical and exegetical commentary*. New Delhi: Bloomsbury Academic. (International Critical Commentary, 2).

Derby, J. 1992. Miracle at sea. *Jewish Bible Quarterly*, 20(4):250-255.

Dozeman, T.B. 2009. *Exodus*. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans. (Eerdmans Critical Commentary).

Driver, S.R. 1911. *The book of Exodus: the revised edition*. London: Cambridge University Press.

Durham, J. 1987. *Exodus*. Waco, TX: WordPress. (World Biblical Commentary, 3).

Eakin, F. 1967. The reed sea and Baalism. *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 86(4):378-384.

Eichrodt, W 1967, *Theology of the Old Testament*, Translated by J.A. Baker. Philadelphia, PA: The Westminster Press. (The Old Testament Library, 2).

Ellison, H.L. 1982. *Exodus*. Philadelphia: Westminster Press.

Enns, P. 2000. *Exodus*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan. (The NIV Application Commentary, 2).

Estes, D. 2019. *Psalms 73-150*. Nashville, TN: B&H Publishing. (The New American Commentary, 13).

Fensham, C.F. 1983. *The Books of Ezra and Nehemiah*. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans

Fewell, D. N. 1992. Introduction: writing, reading, and relating. In: Fewell, D.N., ed. *Reading between the texts: Intertextuality and the Hebrew Bible*. Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox. pp. 11-20.

Fisher, G. 1995. Keine Priesterschrift in Ex. 1–15? *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, 117(2):203-211.

Fretheim, T.E. 2010. *Exodus*. Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press. (Interpretation: A Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching of Exodus).

Garrett, D.A. 2014. *A commentary on Exodus*. Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel Publications. (Kregel Exegetical Library).

Gillingham, S. 2022. *Psalms through the centuries. Vol. 3: A reception history commentary on Psalms 73-151*. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell. (Wiley Blackwell Bible Commentary Series).

Gispen, W. H. 1982. *Exodus*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan.

Gray, J. 1971. Exodus. In: Laymon, C. ed. *The interpreters one-volume commentary*. Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press. pp. 33-67.

Grayson, A. K. 1991. Tiglath-Pileser I (1114-1076 BC) A.0.87. In: *Assyrian rulers early 1st millennium B.C.* Toronto: University of Toronto. pp. 5-84.

Grayson, A.K., Frame, G., Frayne, D., Maidman, M. 1987. Tukulti-Ninurta I A.078. In: *Assyrian rulers 3rd and 2nd millennium B.C.* Toronto: University of Toronto. pp. 231-99.

Grisanti, M. 2004. Old Testament poetry as a vehicle for historiography. *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 161:163-178.

Gurtner, D. 2013. *Exodus: a commentary on the Greek text*. Leiden: Brill.

Hachlili, R. 1988. *Ancient Jewish art and archaeology in the land of Israel*. Leiden: Brill.

Hallo, W. 1980. Biblical history in its Near Eastern setting: The contextual approach. In: Evans, C., Hallo, W. & White, J., eds. *Scripture in context: essays on the comparative method*. Eugene, OR: Pickwick. pp. 1-26.

Hallo, W. 1977. New moons and sabbaths: A Case-study in the contrastive approach. *Hebrew Union College Annual*, 48:1-18.

Hallo, W. 1991. *The book of the people*. Atlanta, GA: Scholars.

Hamblin, J. 2006. *Warfare in the ancient Near East to 1600 B.C.* Abingdon: Routledge.

Hamilton, V. 2011. *Exodus: an exegetical commentary*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic.

Hasel, M. G. 1994. Israel in the Merneptah Stela. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, 296:45–61.

- Hawk, L.D. 1992. Strange houseguests: Rahab, Lot, and the dynamics of deliverance. In: Fewell, D.N., ed. *Reading between the texts: intertextuality and the Hebrew Bible*. Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox. pp. 89-97.
- Haynes, M.B. 2018. *Reflections of Eden in Deuteronomy's Fourth Commandment*. Ph.D. Thesis. North-West University: Potchefstroom.
- Hill, A.E. and Walton, J. H. 2009. *A survey of the Old Testament. 3rd ed.* Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan.
- Hoffmeier, J. 2003. Understanding Hebrew and Egyptian Military Texts. In: Hallo, W. & Younger, K.L. eds. *The Context of Scripture Vol 3*. Brill: Leiden. pp. xxi-xxvii.
- Hoffmeier, J. 1996. *Israel in Egypt*. New York, NY: Oxford University.
- Hoffmeier, J. 1986. The arm of God versus the arm of Pharaoh. *Biblica*, 67:378-87.
- Hoffmeier, J. 1976. Observations on the evolving chariot in the eighteenth dynasty. *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, 13:43-45.
- Hollman, G. 2002. *Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers*. Nashville, TN: Broadman & Holman. (Holman Old Testament Commentary, 2).
- Houtman, C. 1996. *Exodus*. Leuven: Peeters. (Historical Commentary on the Old Testament, 2).
- Howard, D. 2007. *An Introduction to the Old Testament Historical Books*. Chicago, IL: Moody Publishers.
- Hubbard, R. 2009. *Joshua*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Academic. (The NIV Application Commentary Series).
- Hurowitz, V. & Westenholz, J.G. 1990. LKA 63: A heroic poem in celebration of Tiglath-Pileser I's Muşru-Qumanu campaign. *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, 42(1):1–49.
- Hyatt, J.P. 1983. *Exodus*. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans. (New Century Bible, 42).
- Jacob, B. 1992. *Second book of the Bible: Exodus*. Jerusalem: KTAV.
- Janzen, W. 2000. *Exodus* (Believers church Bible commentary). eBook <https://www-ministrymatters-com.dtl.idm.oclc.org/library>.

Johnston, P. 2002. *Shades of Sheol: Death and the afterlife in the Old Testament*. Downers Grove: IL: InterVarsity Press.

Johnstone, W. 2014. *Exodus 1-19*. Macon, GA: Smyth & Helwys (Smyth & Helwys Bible Commentary, 2A).

Kaiser, O. 1924. *Isaiah 18–39*. Philadelphia, PA: Westminster.

Kaiser, W. 2008. *Exodus*. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans. (The Expositor's Bible Commentary, 2).

Kaiser, W. 1998. *A History of Israel*. Nashville, TN: Broadman & Holman.

Keil, C.F. & Delitzsch, F. 1866. *The Pentateuch*. Translated from German by Rev. James Martin. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. (Biblical Commentary on the Old Testament, 2).

Kidner, D. 2014. *Psalms 73-150*. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press.

Kitchen, K. 1966. *Ancient Orient and Old Testament*. London: InterVarsity Press.

King, L.W. 1998. *Code of Hammurabi*. Translated by King, L.W. <https://avalon.law.yale.edu/ancient/hamframe.asp>. Date of access: 3 Feb 2022.

Klein, W.W., Blomberg, C.L. & Hubbard Jr., R.L. 2017. *Introduction to biblical interpretation*. 3rd ed. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan.

Kloos, C. 1997. *Yhwh's combat with the sea: A Canaanite tradition in the religion of ancient Israel*. Leiden: Brill.

Kristeva, J. 1986. *The Kristeva reader*. T. Moi. ed. Oxford: Blackwell.

Lamb, D. 2014. I will strike you down and cut of your head. In: Kelle, B.E. & Ames, F.R. eds. *Warfare, ritual and symbol*. Atlanta, Ga: SBL. pp.111-130.

Lambert, W. G. 1957-1958. Three unpublished fragments of Tukulti-Ninurta Epic. *Archiv für Orientforschung*, 18:38-51.

Laniak, T.S. 2006. *Shepherds after my own heart*. Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic. (New Studies in Biblical Theology, 20).

Leuchter, M. 2011. Eisodus as Exodus: The song of the sea (Exod 15) reconsidered. *Biblica*, 92(3):321-46.

Lichtheim, M. 2006. *Ancient Egyptian literature: The New Kingdom. Vol II. 2nd ed.* Los Angeles, CA: University of California.

Littauer, M.A. & Crowel, J.H. 1996. The earliest known three-dimensional evidence for spoked wheels. *American Journal of Archaeology*, 90(4):395-98.

Loprieno, A. 2012. *Slavery and servitude*. Los Angeles: CA. Available from UCLA digital library <http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz002djg3j> Date of access Mar 10, 2021.

Machi, L & McEvoy, B. 2022. *The Literature review: six steps to success*. 4th ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin.

Machinist, P. 1976. Literature as politics: The Tukulti-Ninurta epic and the Bible. *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, 38:455-82.

Machinist, P. 1978. *The epic of Tukulti-Ninurta I: a study in middle Assyrian literature and the Bible*. PhD thesis, Yale University, New Haven.

Mackey, J. 2001. *Exodus: A mentor commentary*. Scotland: Mentor.

Malamat, A. 1997. The exodus: Egyptian analogies. In: Frerichs, E.S., Lesko, L. eds. *Exodus the Egyptian Evidence*. Indiana: Eisenbrauns. pp.15-26.

Mastin, B. A. 1979. Was Šālīš the third man in the chariot? *Vetus Testamentum*, 30:124-154.

McConville, J.G. and Williams, S.N. 2010. *Joshua*. Grand Rapids: MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans. (The Two Horizons Old Testament Commentary).

McNeil, A. 1908. *The book of Exodus*. London: Methuen & Co.

Mendelsohn, I. 1946. *Slavery in the ancient Near East*. New York, NY: Oxford.

Meyers, C. 2005. *Exodus*. New York, NY: Cambridge University. (New Cambridge Bible Commentary)

Miller, G.D. 2011. Intertextuality in Old Testament research. *Currents in Biblical Research*, 9(3):283-309.

Mizrachy, Y. 2012. The Eighth Campaign of Thutmose III Revisited. *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections*, 4(2):24-52.

- Moulton, H. 1978. *The Analytical Greek Lexicon Revised*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan.
- Moyise, S. 2002. Intertextuality and biblical studies: A Review. *Verbum et Ecclesia*. 23(2):418-431.
- Nederhof, M.J. 2006. *Armant stela of Tuthmosis III*. <https://mjn.host.cs.st-andrews.ac.uk/egyptian/texts/corpus/pdf/ArmantTuthmosisIII.pdf>. Date of access: 10 Oct. 2022.
- Nederhof, M.J. 2006. *Gebel Barkal stela Tuthmosis III*. <https://mjn.host.cs.st-andrews.ac.uk/egyptian/texts/corpus/pdf/GebelBarkalTuthmosisIII.pdf> Date of access: 10 Oct. 2022.
- Nelson, R. 2002. *Deuteronomy: A commentary*. Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press. (The Old Testament Library).
- Neumann, J. 1977. The winds in the world of the ancient Mesopotamian civilizations. *Bulletin of the American Meteorologist Society*, 58(10):1050-1055.
- Niehaus, J. 2008. *Ancient Near Eastern themes in biblical theology*. Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel.
- Noth, M. 1962. *Exodus*. Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox.
- Olmstead, A. T. 1923. *The history of Assyria*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago.
- Oppenheim, A.I. 2011a. Sargon II (721-705): The fall of Samaria. In: Pritchard, J.B., ed. *The ancient Near East: An anthology of texts and pictures*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University. pp. 266-269.
- Oppenheim, A.I. 2011b. The dedication of the Shamash Temple by Yahdun-Lim. In: Pritchard, J.B., ed. *The ancient Near East: An anthology of texts and pictures*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University. pp. 246-247.
- Oppenheim, A.I. 2011c. Tiglath-pileser III (747-727): Campaigns against Syria and Palestine. In: Pritchard, J.B., ed. *The ancient Near East: An anthology of texts and pictures*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University. pp. 264-265.
- Orlin, L.L. 2007. *Life and thought in the ancient Near East*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan.

- O'Rourke B.M. 2004. In the Heart of the Sea: Fathoming the Exodus. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 63(1): 17–27.
- Overstreet, R. L. 2003. Exegetical and contextual facets of Israel's Red Sea crossing. *The Master's Seminary Journal* 14(1): 63–86.
- Patterson, R. 2004. Victory at sea: prose and poetry in Exodus 14-15. *Bibliotheca Sacra* 161:42-54.
- Patterson, R. 1995. The Song of Redemption. *Westminster Theological Journal* 57:453-61.
- Phillips, A. 1973. *Deuteronomy*. London: Cambridge University. (The Cambridge Bible Commentary).
- Pressler, C. 2017. *Numbers*. Nashville: Abingdon Press. (Abingdon Old Testament Commentaries).
- Propp, W. 1999. *Exodus 1-18: A new translation with introduction and commentary*. New York, NY: Doubleday. (The Anchor Yale Bible Commentaries, 2).
- Rainey, A. F. 2001. Israel in Merneptah's Inscriptions and Reliefs. *Israel Exploration Journal* 51(1):57-75.
- Rainey, A. F. 1981. The military campground at Taanach by the waters of Megiddo. *Eretz-Israel: archaeological, historical, and geographical studies*, 15:61-66.
- Rendsburg, G.A. 1992. The date of the Exodus and the Conquest/Settlement: the case for the 1100s. *Vetus Testamentum*, 42(4):510-526.
- Reynolds III, B. 2013. The Expression בִּיד רָמָה in the Hebrew Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Legacy of the Holiness School in Essene Legal Texts. *Journal of Biblical Literature* 132(3): 585-605.
- Robbins, V.K. 1996. *Exploring the texture of texts: a guide to socio-rhetorical interpretation*. Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press.
- Russell, B. 2017. The song of the sea and the subversion of Canaanite myth: a missional reading. *Asbury Journal*, 72(2):107-118.
- Ryken, P. 2005. *Exodus: Saved for God's glory*. Wheaton, IL: Crossway.

- Sabbahy, L. 2022. *Daily life of women in ancient Egypt*. Santa Barbara: ABC-Clio.
- Sarna, N. 1991. *Exodus*. Philadelphia, PA: The Jewish Publication Society. (The JPS Torah Commentary).
- Säve-Söderbergh, T. 1951. The Hyksos rule in Egypt. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 37:53-71.
- Schipper, B. U. 2015. Raamses, Pithom, and the Exodus: A Critical Evaluation of Ex 1:11. *Vetus Testamentum*, 65(2):265–288.
- Schley, D. G. 1990. The Šālīšīm: officers or special three-man squads? *Vetus Testamentum*, 40(3):321-26.
- Schulman, A.R 1957. Egyptian representations of horseman and riding in the new kingdom. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 16(4):263-71.
- Segert, S. 1994. Crossing the Waters: Moses and Hamilcar. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 53(3): 195-203.
- Shepherd, D. and Wright, C. 2018. *Ezra and Nehemiah*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans.
- Ska, J.L. 2006. *Introduction to reading the Pentateuch*. Translated from French by Sr. Pascale Dominique. Winona Lake, IN.: Eisenbrauns.
- Ska, J.L. 1983. Exode xiv contient-il un récit de guerre sainte de style deutéronomistique? *Vetus Testamentum*, 33(4):454-467.
- Smith, M. 2011. *Exodus Vol 3*. Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press (New Collegeville Bible Commentary).
- Smith, G. 2009. *Isaiah 40-66*. Nashville, TN: B&H Publishing Group (The New American Commentary, 15b).
- Snaith, N.H. 1965. יַם־סוּף: The Sea of Reeds: The Red Sea. *Vetus Testamentum*, 15(3):395-398.
- Snell, D. 2021. *Flight and freedom in the ancient Near East*. Leiden: Brill.
- Spalinger, A.J. 2008. The great dedicatory inscription of Ramesses II: A Solar-Osirian tractate at Abydos. *Culture and History of the Ancient Near East*, 33:17-85.

Stuart, D. K. 2006. *Exodus*. Nashville, Tenn.: Broadman & Holman (The New American Commentary, 2).

Sweeney, M. 2017. Isaiah 60—62 in intertextual perspective. In: Zevit, Z., ed. *Subtle citation, allusion, and translation in the Hebrew Bible*. Bristol, CT: Equinox. pp. 131-142.

Tadmor, H. 1999. World Dominion: The Expanding Horizon of the Assyrian Empire. In: Milano, L., De Martino, S., Fales, F.M. eds. *Landscapes: Territories, frontiers, and horizons in the ancient Near East*. Padua: Sargon. pp. 55-62.

Taylor, J., ed. 2010. *Journey through the afterlife: ancient Egyptian book of the dead*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Trimm, C. 2017. *Fighting for the king and the gods: A survey of warfare in the ancient Near East*. Atlanta, GA: SBL Press.

Tubb, J. 1998. Canaanites. Vol.2 In: *The peoples of the past series*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Utzschneider, H. and Oswald, W. 2015. *Exodus 1–15*. Germany: Kohlhammer. (International Exegetical Commentary on the Old Testament).

Van Seters, J. 2003. Deuteronomy between Pentateuch and the Deuteronomist history. *Harvard Theological Studies*, 59(3):947-56.

Van Seters, J.1994. *The life of Moses: The Yahwist as historian in Exodus–Numbers*. Louisville: John Knox Press.

Vervenne, M. 1996. Exodus expulsion and Exodus flight. The interpretation of a crux critically re-assessed. *Journal of Northwest Semitic languages*, 22(2):45-58.

Vervenne, M. 1987. The protest motif in the sea narrative (Ex 14, 11-12). *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses*, 63:257-272.

Von Rad, G. 1962. *Old Testament Theology* Vol. 1. Translated by D.M.G. Stalker. New York, NY: Harper & Row Publishers.

Weitzman, S. 1997. *Song and story in biblical narrative*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

- Wénin, A. 2014. Le<<Chant de la Mer>> et ses locuteurs intradiégétiques: Étude du lien narratif entre le récit d'Ex 13,17–14,31 et le chant de 15,1-18. In: Ausloos, H. & Lemmelijn. eds. *A Pillar of cloud to guide: Text-critical, redactional, and linguistic perspectives on the Old Testament in honor of Marc Vervenne*. Leuven: Peters. pp. 315-334.
- Westbrook, R. 1998. The female slave. In: Mathews, V.H., Frymer-Kensky, T., Levinson, B. eds. *Gender and law in the Hebrew Bible and the ancient Near East*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic. pp. 214-238.
- Wevers, J.W. 1990. *Notes on the Greek text of Exodus*. Atlanta: Scholars Press.
- Wheless, J. 2007. *Is it God's word?* New York, NY: Cosimo Inc. original. 1926.
- White, T. J. 2016. *Exodus*. Grand Rapids, MI. Brazos Press. (Brazos Theological Commentary on the Bible).
- Wilson, J. A. 1958. Asiatic campaign of Thutmose III. In: Pritchard, J.B. ed. *The ancient Near East Vol I*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University. pp. 175-181.
- Wood, B. G. 1990. Did the Israelites Conquer Jericho: A New Look at the Archaeological Evidence. *Biblical Archaeological Review*, 16(2):44-58.
- Woods, E. 2011. *Deuteronomy: An introduction and commentary*. Downers Grove: IL. InterVarsity Press. (Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries, 2).
- Youngblood, R. 1983. *Exodus*. Chicago: The Moody Bible Institute.
- Younger Jr., K. 1991. Heads! Tails! Or the Whole Coin?! Contextual Method and Intertextual Analysis: Judges 4 and 5. In: Younger, Jr. K., Hallo, W. & Batto, B., eds. *The Biblical Canon in Comparative Perspective Vol 4*. Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press. pp. 109–46.
- Younger Jr., K. 2003. The Contextual Method: Some Semitic Reflections. In: Hallo, W. & Younger, Jr. K., eds. *The Context of Scripture Vol 3*. Leiden: Brill Publishers. pp. xxv-xlii.

